EMERGING PATTERN OF CASTE AND CLASS IN EASTERN UTTAR-PRADESH

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ABBREVIATIONS

Sl. No.	Abbreviation	Description
1.	B.J.P.	Bhartiya Janata Party.
2.	B.S.P.	Bahujan Samaj Party.
3.	IFFCO	Indian Farmers Fertilisers Co-operative.
4.	I.T.I.	Indian Telephone Industries.
5.	P.H.C.	Primary Health Centre.
6.	P.W.D.	Public Works Department.
7.	S.P.	Samajwadi Party.
8.	U.P.	Uttar-Pradesh.

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Certificate Of Original Work

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "*Emerging Pattern of Caste and Class in Eastern Uttar - Pradesh*", prepared and submitted by Hari Om Prakash Singh, is being forwarded for the Award of the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy* to University of Allahabad, Allahabad.

It is a record of bonafide research carried out by him, under my guidance and supervision.

Date: 13.11.2001

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ABSTRACT

My thesis tries to solve the dilemma posed by two stream of thinkers on caste and class. The first is the old classical view and the other is the new anthropological view. The older view portrays caste as a system of stratification in which little, if any, mobility ever occurred, in which there were no discrepancies or incongruities between individual's position in the "caste" dimensions of the social order. The newer view is based on empirical studies carried out by social anthropologists who cite examples of mobility, and empashasise that in operation the social relationship was different than in conception, and that all roles and relationship were in practise, not determined by the caste system. Caste today represents increasing status incongruence, relative openness, and relative equality among the competing strata. The status incongruence in caste are characterised by mobility, which is not by any account a recent phenomena. It is the argument of my study that caste mobility existed even in the traditional India and occupations changed hands even in the hierarchal and closed order.

The social structure of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh, though still carries the imprint of the old feudal values, the process no doubt is under strain. The process of modernisation, democracy and education has certainly shifted the locus of power from the ritually higher castes to numerically higher castes. But as it is clear from the survey, that the dominant castes though enfeebled, still hold the position of importance. Though some castes among the backward and the lower castes have moved up the ladder and in many areas, infact hold the dominant position, but the conditions of majority of the people in these castes are still pathetic. It is amply clear from the socio-economic survey that

though few people from the backward and the lower castes have risen up the ranks, it cannot be taken as the pointer to the improvement of the general conditions of the vast majority of this population. Still, there is no doubt that modern education, universal adult franchise, reservation of jobs have provided new avenues to the weaker sections of the population. Under the impact of these forces the traditional caste rigidity has started crumbling as it is now characterised more by flexibility, relative equality and openness. But still lot of sincere effort is needed to root out the vestiges of exploitation from the rural masses.

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Date: 13.12.2001 **(Hari Om Prakash Singh)**

Chapter - 1

Introduction

Introduction

This study attempts to examine the relationship among three major dimensions of social structure in modern India. Our major concern is to compare and correlate ascriptive, socio-economic, and political dimensions of social stratification. I am particularly interested in examining the extent to which socio-economic and political positions are entailed by the caste position in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh.

At a more general level, the study addresses itself to the interaction between traditional social structures and modern democratic politics. From this perspective, it would have a bearing on the general theories relating society and politics to democratic development.

At a more specific level, I am interested in examining to what extent the traditional model of social stratification in India-the model, which characterised status summation, limited mobility, and cumulative inequalities- obtains today. Thus, it deals with some aspects of democratic development in India, the aspects of mobility, equality and secularity. Underlying the analysis is the central theme of democracy that one's social, economic and political life should not be determined by the circumstances of birth.

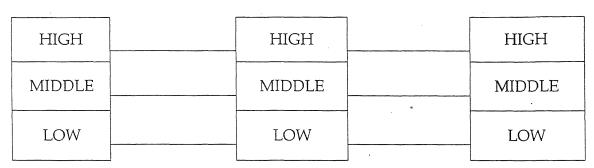
Theoretical Framework: The Traditional model of Social Stratification and Democracy.

The predominant feature of social structure in India, as is well known, is the caste system. The caste system in its most general but most fundamental aspect is an assertive system of status and hierarchy. It is pervasive and all embracing and is known for controlling and

defining all social, economic and political relationships for the individual; as it ascriptively defines the social life of an individual. It is, at least in conception, immutable. It is therefore considered the extreme opposite of an egalitarian democratic social order. Hence, the 1950 constitution of the Republic of India, which adopted secular, egalitarian and democratic ideals for social and political relations, de-legalised the caste system and abolished untouchability- a major bane of the system.

The caste system has been one of the oldest and most elaborate systems of social organisation. The description of caste model in its extreme form is that one's caste position in a ritually determined state hierarchy defines one's total life. One can know a great deal about an individual-his occupations, his education, his civic and political privileges, his marriage choice, his associational membership, his communal and other ritual behaviour by knowing his caste. All-important choices of an individual are determined by birth in a particular caste or rather he has no choices. In short, it has been described as system of "institutionalised inequality".

Of course, this is an extreme description. There is much controversy in the literature on the caste system, and most students of the caste system today agree that it was not that rigid. It is, however, necessary to understand the important elements of the ideal caste model before discussing to what extent such a model obtained in reality.

The classical model of social stratification in India is that of summation of statuses. This classical model is diagrammatically shown in Figure-1.1

Figl.1 Status Summation: The model of Social Stratification in traditional India.

The status summation model envisages congruence among various positions. The other positions are dependent upon and entailed by the ascriptive caste position. The model thus emphasizes ascription rather than achievement. Defining the recruitment procedure for different roles and position in the ascriptive system, Nadel observes: "the governing property is an inevitable or fortuitous state in which individuals find themselves. It then entails the further characteristics - all other attributes in the series- as consequences or concomitants."[1]

In its extreme form, caste stratification subsumes all other stratification systems to an extent that it could be questioned how appropriate it is to talk of different dimensions of stratification in such a society. Consequently, the system is called homogeneous or non-complex.[2] Further more as the caste status is ascribed by birth, the system envisages "hereditary substitutability" of positions and privileges. It is closed.

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1. Nadel, F., The Theory of Social Structure (London: Cohen and West, 1957), p 36.
2. In such a society, observes Nadel, "A series of diverse relationships (domestic or kin, economic, religious, political) will come to link the same set of persons constituting a congruent set of linkages which means that the society is to that extent rendered less complex and more homogeneous." Nadel, The theory of Social Structure, p 38. Beteille in his study of a south Indian village found that, "In the traditional order of Sripuram, both the class system and distribution of power were to a large extent subsumed under caste." Andre Beteille, Castè, Class and power (Berkley: University of California Press, 1965), p 8.

The traditional model also marks absence of internal differentiation among the persons belonging to the same caste. All members of the same caste are like each other in that they have the same levels of ritual, socio-economic and political positions; rights, privileges, and responsibilities. The members of the same caste are thus equivalent in regard to their "achievable life histories".[3]

On the other hand, the caste model envisages complete vertical differentiation between individuals belonging to different status castes. Different castes differ from each other in ritual, socio-economic and political position.

Thus, as a result of horizontal clustering and vertical differentiation, the status summation model marks what Robert Dahl calls "cumulative inequalities".[4]

Lastly, it marks non-antagonistic strata, i.e., acceptance and legitimacy of the ritually determined position in the allocation of wealth, status, and power, the system is non-competitive. These elements-closed, highly hierarchical, combinative and non-competitive-of social stratification have been considered synonymous with India's caste system so much so that any type of severe social gradation or exclusive grouping is labelled as caste not only in literary similes like the "Boston Brahmins," but also in more serious sociological discussions.[5]

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3. Nadel, The theory of social structure, p 68.
4. Dhal, Robert, Who Governs. (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1961).
5. See, for instance, Beteille, Andre, Castes Old and New., in his, Castes Old and New. (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1969), p 229-236.

To be sure, such a neat pattern of status summation could hardly be found even in traditional India. Such an image of Indian society has been criticised because it intends to ignore the latent, deviant, and minority aspects that may not fit the model.[6]

There are two opposed views of social stratification in India. The first is the older view. It portrays caste as a system of stratification in which little, if any, mobility ever occurred, in which there were no discrepancies or incongruities between the individual's position in the 'caste' dimension and his position in other dimensions of the social order.[7] This view is as old as the Hindu sacred texts themselves and, as Marriott observes, "has seen little change in two thousand years".[8]

The second is a newer view based on empirical studies carried out by social anthropologists during the last three decades. It points out the inaccuracies in the older view. The studies propounding this newer view cite examples and incidents of mobility, emphasise that in operation the social relationship was different than in conception, and that all roles and relationships were, in practice, not determined by the caste system.[9]

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6. Loyd and Susanne Rudolphs have criticised the traditional model of social stratification in India, employed in comparative analysis on the ground that such a view of Indian society ignores the latent, deviant, and minority elements that do not fit the model. They, however, state that, "much of that image (of Indian society) has always been correct." Rudolph, I. Loyd, and Rudolph, Hoeber Susanne, Modernity of Tradition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p 4-7.
7. Barber, Bernard, Social mobility in Hindu India, in Social Mobility in the Caste System in India, ed. by James Silverberg, Supplement 111, Comparative studies in society and History. (Paris: The Hague, 1968).
8. Marriott, Mckim, International and Attributional Theories of Caste Ranking, Man in India, XXXIX (1959), p 92-107.
9. Many Studies have pointed this out. For an Overall Review of these studies see, Barber, Social Mobility in India.

The extent to which the model of status summation obtained in traditional India is one of the most difficult questions to answer, simply because adequate historical information is not available. The newer view of the Indian society is based mainly on assorted examples and incidents. Intensive as they are, the anthropological studies propounding this newer view do not provide a complete picture and almost invariably fail to determine the question of degree. For instance, several studies carried out during the last two decades or so have found internal socio-economic variation within different castes.[10] These studies have found that there were poorer men in higher status castes and there were some wealthier people in low castes. But they do not tell us the extent of such differentiation or whether there was a greater socio-economic dispersion within higher status castes or lower status castes.

While the newer view of Indian society is helpful in correcting the older view of unchanging and unchangeable caste, it tends to exaggerate the variations and the discrepancies first as the older view exaggerates the static picture. It is also not clear to what years or so are being projected to explain the past. Some village studies, which have some longitudinal analysis, suggest that there was greater status summation in pre-independence India. Two of the studies that examine the status summation model more explicitly are those of Frederik Barth[11] and Andre Beteille.[12]

10. Mayer, Adrian C., The Dominant Caste in a Region of Central India, South Western Journal of Anthropology, XIV (1958); N. Yalman, The Flexibility of Caste Principles in a Kanayadan Community, in the Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and Northwest Pakistan, ed. By E. R. Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).
11. Barth, Frederick, The System of Social Stratification in Swath, North Pakistan, in Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and Northwest Pakistan, ed. by Leach.
12. Beteille, Andre. Caste, Class and Power.

The same picture emerges from some other studies. In Mandhopur, a village in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh, studied by Bernard Chon, the high caste Thakurs, forming 24 per cent of the population, enjoyed social, economic and political dominance over the more numerous but lower status Noniyas and untouchable Chamars until the 1940s.[13] Bailey's study of the upward mobility of the Boad outcastes of Orissa also found that, in nineteenth century Orissa, "The divisions of wealth and political power followed the same lines as caste division and the hierarchy in these fields approximated the ritual hierarchy. Caste, viewed as a ritual system, was congruent with the political system."[14]

Thus, if one examines the degree of status summation, it seems that there was a greater degree of status summation in traditional India. Of course, the historical information is inadequate and it is difficult to have any accurate overall picture of Indian society. But even some recent and more balanced attempts at an overall view, while they reject the older picture of stagnant and immobile Indian society, also seem to conclude that the stratification system in traditional India was relatively less mobile, less differentiated in terms of ritual, economic and political dimensions and on the whole more closed.[15]

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13. Cohn, Bernard, Changing Status of a Depressed Caste, in Village India ed. by Mckim Marriot (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1955).
14. Bailey, F.G., Caste and the Economic Frontier (Manchester: The Manchester University Press, 1957), p 184-185.
15. Two of the more balanced and recent attempts at describing the overall stratification picture of the Indian Society are those of Barber, Social Mobility in Hindu India, and F.G. Bailey, Closed Social Stratification, Archives Europeennes De Sociologie, IV, No.1 (1963).

Another and more fundamental perspective from which the model of status summation needs to be examined is the overarching framework of social organisation it provided. In pre-independence India, caste system and its governing principles did provide a general ideology. Whatever mobility and changes took place were within the stable system. In my view it is very important to examine the traditional social stratification from this fundamental perspective. The so-called newer view of traditional Indian social stratification, (probably because studies of social stratification in India have been primarily in the domain of social anthropology) fails to take account of this perspective provided by the new political ideology or social organisation.

The theoretical formulations of modernisation and political development based on western experience influenced the social scientists who studied India. The studies of Indian society, particularly in the fifties and the early sixties, held the same doubts as the political leaders and social reformers. But unlike the leaders, the analysts were less optimistic and virtually predicted that democracy would not survive in a traditional society characterised, among other things, by such parochial and all pervasive institutions as caste.[16]

In this conceptual framework of looking at the relationship between society and politics, social system is conceptualised as a larger system and political system as its sub-system. It conceives of society as a separate and larger system instead of an aggregate of interacting sub-

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16. A good example of this type of view is Selig Harrison, India: The most dangerous Decades. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960). A more detailed and recent discussion of these views is to be found in D. L. Sheth, Caste and Politics in India: A trend Report, 1971, p 3-6, (mimeographed). Also, see Rajni Kothari, Politics in India (Boston : Little Brown, 1970) P 7-8.

systems. In the language of social science empirically operationalised, such a framework takes social structures as independent variables and political factors as consequent and dependent variables. If social structures are authoritarian, argues a theory of democratic stability, democracy would be jeopardised.[17] Such a framework does not provide for political structures and processes working upon and influencing the social structures.

Some more perceptive students of Indian society have gone beyond such a framework. They have argued that the relationship between traditional structures and modern politics is not necessarily dichotomous and of independent -dependent sequence but dialectical and interactional.[18]

They have argued that traditional structures like the caste system of India are undergoing transformation from below and within, and adapting themselves to the demands of democratic politics.[19]

With this model of traditional Indian society and the assumptions of a democratic policy and these varying approaches to their relationship as its theoretical setting, this study attempts to draw a portrait of social stratification in India after more than five decades

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17. Eckstein, Harry, A Theory of Stable Democracy, in the Division and Cohesion in Democracy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p239-280.
18. Several studies of Indian society particularly done in the late sixties with varying degree of emphasis and with different variables have proposed this approach. For more comprehensive statements directly relevant to our concern here, See Rudolph and Rudolph, Modernity of Tradition, Part I ; and "Introduction," Caste in Indian Politics, ed. by Rajani Kothari Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1970. Also see his Politics in India, Boston: Little Brown and Co, 1970 Chaps. I and VIII.
19. Rudolph and Rudolph, Modernity of Tradition p. 19 and passim.

(considered by some as the most dangerous decades) of its achieving nationhood and adopting the democratic system. If the profile of social stratification in modern India approximates closely the traditional model, it is inimical to ideals of mobility, equality, and secularism- the goals professed in the Indian Constitution.

Objectives

In the process of constructing this profile. The specific objectives of the study are-

1. To examine the pattern and degree of relationship between caste hierarchy and socio-economic hierarchy.
2. To examine the extent of caste mobility in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh.
3. To assess the relationship between caste and class position and political participation.
4. Finally an attempt to construct an empirical profile of social stratification in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh.

Hypothesis

On the basis of literature review and other primary and secondary sources of information following hypothesis will be tested.

1. In traditional India, caste status sums up the economic position thus there should be close correspondence between caste status and socio- economic status.
2. The impact of Modernisation has initiated caste and class mobility.

3. That in traditional India, caste and class status and involvement in politics has shown a pattern, hence there are always some who participate more than others.

Field of Study

My field of study is Eastern Uttar-Pradesh, which still represent the character of the old feudal societies. After the abolition of zamindari and introduction of democracy the old values started crumbling and the static social structure started showing signs of flexibility. The caste cleavages in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh are more intense than anywhere else. The emergence of B.J.P., Samajwadi party and the B.S.P., represents the polarisation of interests of different castes. The impact of modernisation has initiated caste mobility and reservations have strengthened the hands of the backward and the lower castes. All these developments have challenged the old structure, which has manifested itself in form of caste tension and riots. The Mandal agitation and its ultimate failure has again empashised the new acquired strength of the backward castes. The upper castes are finding it hard to assert their traditional supremacy on the lower or the backward castes. Under such circumstances, Eastern Uttar-Pradesh presents an interesting case of castes and class relationship. The other reason for selecting Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is that I belong to this region, born in Azamgarh, a traditionally feudal district. I could see the social changes taking place during last five decades, as I was also a part of the same process. Being a Thakur, I had lot of land-less labourers to work on my field, but with the impact of urbanisation and education this process has gradually vanished and they are now much more aware of their exploitation. The society is infact in a flux, this provides me with an interesting

opportunity to study the dynamism of social relationship in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh in such a fluid circumstances.

Research Methodology

Most studies of the Indian caste system have been done by ethnographers and social anthropologist. These studies have been mainly qualitative (so called to distinguish from the quantitative etc.) dealing with one or few castes or one or two communities.

Yet there is no dearth of generalisation. Anthropologists studying Indian villages are known for their search for a "typical" village. Even in the single village studies, the introductions and prefaces, try for their "generalisability" (without specifying exactly how). Many of the anthropologists who have studied one or two villages for a lifetime have also written general essays on the caste system. Many attempts at generalisations through cumulative ethnography are found in the numerous anthologies of village and caste studies. Thus the empirical studies of social stratification in India may have been confined to micro units, most students of Indian caste system have found it necessary to generalise.

One of the things that are often mentioned in caste studies is that no generalisation is possible. At the same time the need for generalisation is reiterated and it is argued that "crude" or approximate" general pattern can be discerned, that "the village study exemplifies other villages in the area", "the findings have wider applications" and so on. From detailed village studies to more general essay on the caste system, the possibility of the exceptions is noted, a call far more and

further studies is made and apologies extended for "gross over-simplifications".

Closely related to this problem of generalisation is also the problem of quantification. Curiously, it is the problem of generalisation at every level, whether it is village or region, arising out of the "variable" nature of social phenomena that compels the most intensive and so called qualitative studies to introduce quantitative connotations in their findings. Every qualitative study, whether dealing with one caste or one village or dealing with caste system as a whole, is full of findings with quantitative connotations such as "generally", "approximately", "mostly", "highly", "frequently", this merely reflects reality, social phenomena are rarely found cent percent. The question then boils down to this, how much and to what extent. Whether it is answered in prose or through percentage table often depends on non-academic factors.

A large part of the empirical analysis in this study is based on quantitative data gathered through survey research and deals with macro national and regional levels. The data and the type of analysis in this study make it possible to talk more explicitly about degrees and amounts. During the course of my fieldwork I interviewed the Grampradhans on the socio-economic and political condition of their villages. The interviews were largely open-ended and unstructured except for the fact that I tried to get the personal biographical information of few chosen people, his or her family background, occupation, education and why, how politics affects them. I also tried to get their views on the major political parties.

To prove my hypothesis, I decided to conduct a limited survey of 200 to 250 households covering at least one village in Azamgarh and Allahabad. Being based in Allahabad as I was, was an advantage. The survey together with interviews with village people constitutes a substantial part of the argument of the thesis.

There are, however, some limitations of the data and type of analysis employed. One of the major problems is that of variation and differentiation in the overall pattern that arose when dealing with macro levels, it is not only a question of degree, but of finding a different pattern, to take an example, caste and class relationship may be positive and strong in rural areas but may be negative in urban areas. Dealing at large-scale levels involves a considerable amount of averaging and at times reduces the richness of information that one can have while dealing with smaller levels.

I often found it necessary to put the patterns discerned through large-scale data in more substantive and relevant context. In such a situation, I have freely referred to more intensive and contextual anthropological studies. Generally I have tried to integrate the findings of other studies.

Some of the measures used here are somewhat weak, approximate and indirect. Whatever necessary the limitations of the measures and the scope and strength of the findings based on such measures are explicitly stated.

Often I have found it necessary to go beyond the data not only for explanation and inferences, but also for studying some aspects of the subject for which I did not have quantitative data. In such situations, I

have freely used any available evidence that could help shed light on the subject. In fact the third chapter of this study is based largely on the reviews and reinterpretation of the available studies.

I have deliberately left out urban areas and concentrated on villages as Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is primarily an agrarian society with 80% of its population living in rural areas. Allahabad as a big urban center and Azamgarh, a backward district in terms of urbanisation, the villages form both the district provide me with an unique opportunity to compare and contrast the caste and class of two diverse districts.

Structure and presentation of the thesis

I want to make it amply clear that my thesis is not a historical narrative but seeks to focus on certain events and aspects of emerging pattern of caste and class in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. I could be accused of omitting many aspects, which others may regard as vital in a study, which purports to look into the emerging pattern of caste and class in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh over the last five decades. When I began the project, I was naively ambitious about, wanting to understand and comment on almost every aspect of caste and class. But in the end I have modestly tried to look into caste and class nexus with special reference to Eastern Uttar-Pradesh during the last five decades. I have tried to explain this in the light of my study and fieldwork. I do this in the following five chapters.

Chapter Two (which follow this one) is about literature review. There is review of variety literature on caste and class. I have tried to understand the views of different writers on caste and class. In the end I have formulated my own view on the subject. In this chapter I have

tried to explain that the caste is a status bearing entity while the social class is a conceptual stratum of status bearing entities. Therefore the class is not a form of social organisation that is to say it is not organised in the sense that a caste is. In a class system, it is the family or person, who is the bearer of social status, in the caste system, it is the caste. The caste system emphasises group status and morality, the individual without a caste is a meaningless social entity. While probing the nexus between caste and class it was imperative to understand the true import of these words.

The Third chapter traces the relation between caste and class in India in a historical perspective. In this chapter I have tried to show how caste and class continued from ancient time till the modern period. I have taken help from variety of literature and books to formulate a chronological order of caste and class development in India. This study provides me with necessary inputs to correlate and examine my views on the emerging pattern of caste and class with that of past. In this chapter I have shown how modern democratic values are affecting the traditional structures. Today numerically stronger middle and lower castes threaten the dominance of the upper-castes. The education and universal adult franchise has opened new vistas of opportunities to these middle and lower castes, and they are asserting it in no uncertain terms.

Chapter Four takes a synoptic view of socio-economic profile of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. In this chapter, I have tried to enumerate the number of castes that live in the area. Their manners and customs and the social structure. I have tried to emphasise that the remains of the old feudal structure still exist, and Eastern Uttar-Pradesh represents a

backward economy with low per-capita income. The backwardness of the economy, low level of education and extreme poverty has helped the old ascriptive values to survive in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. Thus the study of the economy and the society provides me with the opportunity to study the special cases in reference to the general tendencies of the region. It also helps me to correlate the findings of our fieldwork with the general pattern of the region.

Chapter Five takes a general socio-economic view of the two district of my case study. It helps, to explain us, the settings in which I am going to conduct my survey. In the survey I have chosen one village from each district of my case study for my fieldwork. The villages were consciously chosen as to represent the general tendencies of the region. I have interviewed around two hundred fifty houses in village Andawa and almost all the houses in village Jura-Rampur. On the basis of their responses, I have tried to construct various tables for the purpose of my analysis. These tables relate to responses on education, Income, politics and Media of Mass Communication.

Chapter Six, the conclusion argues that classical caste model represented by closed and hierarchical social structure no longer exemplifies the reality of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. Democracy and universal adult franchise has shifted the locus of power from ritually higher castes to numerically higher castes. Politics of the region is primarily caste based and dominant castes of the region still have fair amount of influence on the lower and backward castes, though this

process is under severe strain. The study also tries to establish that caste mobility is not only a modern phenomenon but has existed even in the traditional societies. It is the argument of this study, that today the caste model represents increasing status incongruence and relative equality among the competing strata. Social stratification in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh, today cannot be characterised as homogenous, combinative and non-competitive.

Chapter -2

Review of Literature

Review of Literature

Under this heading we take into account the different views of caste and class so that we can formulate a general consensus view on the subject. First we review the variety of literature on caste.

Caste

The word caste has been taken from the Portuguese term "casta", meaning race or breed or kind. It translates two vernacular terms with different meanings. The first is zat (breed), with quam (brotherhood), the zat is the caste as a whole; the biradari is the group of caste brethren who live in particular neighborhood and act together for caste purposes the use of the word caste in the two senses has caused much confusion[1].

According to Oliver. C. Cox in his book Caste, Class and Race[2], "a caste cannot be defined in social isolation, because it is infact an inseparable element of the society. The social relationship of any caste interpenetrates the social matrix of caste system, and the caste system constitutes a type of society -the structure and substance of a society. Hence to think of caste as we would of such institutions or labour unions, churches, or guildes is to begin with false conception. A caste cannot exist in an otherwise casteless society, for castes are interdependent social phenomena." Oliver C. Cox gives following characteristics of caste, (1) Caste is a cultural phenomena. (2) Caste is stereotype of society. (3) Caste mobility is inevitable. (4) Caste may

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1. Blunt, E. A. H: The caste system of northern India. S. Chand &Co. Delhi, 1969.
2. Cox, Oliver Cromwell. Caste, Class and Race. Garden City, New York:Doubleday and Company, 1948.

combine or constitute a hierarchy. (7) Social inequality is a key to caste system. (8) Caste inferiority is as much a social fact as superiority. (9) Caste as fraternity. (10) Inequality of man is fundamental in caste. (11) Eating habits are significant in caste. (12) Each caste includes sub caste also (13) Social distance and purity constitutes the essence of caste system.

Pauline kolendo in his book Caste in contemporary India; beyond organic solidarity[3], observes that the most persistent feature of Indian society is its organisation into micro communities, which are large scale descent groups. One form of this organisation is caste. There are large-scale decent groups other than caste. Before castes and co-existing today with castes are tribes and after caste have been released from caste system, in which each caste takes a specialized role in a ritualised division of labour, there are and will be large-scale descent groups which might be called kin communities.

Thus according to kolendo the basic building block of Indian society has been the large-scale descent groups, structured by a unilineal principle, composed of a hierarchy of increasingly inclusive segments. At some level two segment may be exogamous; at some level these segments may be endogamous. The whole descent group composes of a tribe, Jati as kin community. A tribe is a large-scale decent group subsisting in isolation. The tribe may be composed of pastoralists, agriculturists, artisans or hunters. The caste is the decent group with a special role by which it is integrated into a traditional local or regional system of inter-dependence and change with other groups-

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3. Kolendo Pauline: Caste in contemporary India; beyond organic solidarity, Rawat Publication, Jaipur, 1984.

a caste system. The caste may or may not have a distinctive sub-culture. Finally, the kin community is defined as the large-scale descent group released from a system of caste interdependence. The kin community is adapted to the institution of the modern, occupational, political and educational environment.

E.A.H. Blunt in his book The Caste System of Northern India[4] reflects upon the difficulty of defining caste system in a precise manner. Nonetheless E.A.H. Blunt tries to give a working definition of caste, "a caste is an endogamous group or collection of endogamous groups, bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary, arising from birth alone, imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matter of social inter course; either (1) following a common traditional occupation, (2) claiming a common origin. (3) Both following such occupation and claming such origin and generally regarded as forming a single homogenous community."

G.S. Ghuriya in his book Caste and Race in India[5] has outlined six features of caste in Hindu society when it was ruled by the social philosophy of caste, unaffected by the modern ideas of rights and duties. (1) Segmental division of society. (2) Hierarchy. (3) Restrictions on feeding and social inter-course. (4) Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections. (5) Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation. (6) Restriction on marriage.

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4. Blunt, E. A. H: The caste system of northern India. S. Chand &Co. Delhi, 1969.
5. Ghurye, G. S., Caste and Race in India, New York, 1932.

Herbert Hope Risley in his book The People of India[6] defines, "caste as a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, humane or divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling, and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogenous community." He goes on to add that the caste name is generally associated with a specific occupation and that a caste is almost invariably endogamous, but is further divided, as or rule, into a number of smaller circles each of which is endogamous, so that a Brahman is not only restricted to marrying another Brahman but to marrying to the women of the same subdivision of Brahman.

J.H. Hutton in his book Caste in India[7] regards, that caste could arise only within limited area in which all the elements contributing to it were associated over a long period of time. It is virtually inconceivable that the association of circumstances necessary to produce such an institution as caste in India could ever be formed in more than one area of the earth's surface. And it is probably significant that the geographical limits within which the limitation is manifest are such as have offered in the past very considerable obstacles to the perennial communication or easy contacts of any kind. J.H. Hutton refrains from giving any definition of caste instead describe its features. According to Hutton, (1) Member of caste cannot marry outside it, (2) There are similar but less rigid restrictions on eating and drinking with a member of another caste. (3) There are fixed occupations for many castes. (4) There is some hierarchical gradation of castes. (5) Birth

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6. Risley, Sir Herbert Hope, The People of India, Calcutta, 1908.
7. Hutton, J.H.: Caste in India, Its nature function and origin. Oxford University Press, Bombay. 1980.

determines a man's caste for life unless he is expelled for violation of its rules.

Emile Senart in his book Caste in India[8] describes, "caste as a group, united, closed and at least in theory hereditary, provided with a measure of organisation which is traditional and independent, with a headman, and with a council that meets when need be in more or less full assembly, that is often combined in the keeping of certain festivals, that is bound together by a common occupation and shares common customs in regard particularly to marriage, to the consumption of food and drink, and to various laws of pollution; finally a group which has the power to maintain its authority by the means of jurisdiction which though rather attenuated is capable of making the authority of the community effective by the imposition of various penalties, most important being permanent or temporary expulsion from the group, such an epitome as it seems to us is a caste."

Andre Beteille in his book Caste, Class, and Power[9] has defined caste as a small and named group of persons characterised by endogamy, hereditary membership, and specific style of life, which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical system. He further adds that a caste system gives the

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8. Senart, Emile, Caste in India, translated by Sir E. Denison Ross, London, 1930.
9. Beteille, Andre, Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in Tanjore Village. Berkely: University of California Press, 1965.

Hindu society a segementary characteristic. The structural distance of one caste from another may be great or small, depending upon their mutual position, which are fixed within broad social limits.

S. Akinchan in his book Caste, Class and Politics[10] described caste system as a traditional principle of social stratification involving ascriptive allocation of occupations, continues to characterise society and polity in India. Its extreme and classical forms can still be observed in most of the villages of the state, where it continues to be pervasive and an all embracing phenomenon that controls and defines social economic and political relations of the individual. It appears so deep-rooted in the system that while the whole society has been undergoing a steady transformation, in the wake of urbanisation and industralisation, its residual influence on social and political behaviour have tended to persist over time. In-fact caste involving culturally defined patterns of Institutionalised inequality, has been the greatest impediment to the effects of social and economic modernisation of the state. Even today caste system seems to have found its own way to survive the onslaughts of modern social forces, thanks to the ineffectiveness of social legislations and widespread prevalence of caste politics.

Edmund Leach in his book Aspects of Caste in India, Ceylon and Northwest Pakistan[11] regards dominant caste as a universal and integral element in the rural caste systems. According to him, the member of the dominant caste not only owned land but enjoyed numerical majority over others. Leach also assumed that in pre-British

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10. Akinchan, S.: Caste, Class and Politics: Emerging horizons of Political Sociology, N. D.; Gyan Publishing House, 1995.
11. Leach, Edmund: Aspects of caste in India, Ceylon and north-west Pakistan. Cambridge University Press. 1960.

India land owners competed among themselves for the labour and services of the other castes, and since caste was inseparable from, if not inconceivable, without a system of hereditary division of labour, the grouping of people into different caste forced them to co-operate with each other for performing basic economic and social task. The interest of different caste necessarily converged. Going further, he argued that competition between members of different caste was uncharacteristic of the system.

Prof. M.N. Srinivas in his book Caste in Modern India[12] described "Caste as a hereditary, endogamous, usually localised group having a traditional association with an occupation and a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Relations between the castes are governed among other things by concepts of pollution and purity and generally maximum commensality occurs within the caste."

Lewis Dumont in his book Hommo Hierarichicus[13] writes that ideology or principle of caste lies in hierarchy; the opposition between the pure and impure defines its binary tension, its dialectic. He further adds, " this opposition underlines hierarchy which is the superiority of the pure to the impure, underlies separation because the pure and the impure must be kept separate, and underlies the division of labour because the pure and impure occupation must like-wise be kept separate. The whole is founded on the necessary and hierarchical co-existence of the two opposites."

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12. Srinivas, M.N. Caste in modern India. Bombay: Asia Publishing House,1964.
13. Dumont, Lewis: Hommo Hierarichicus:A Review by T.N. Madan, On the nature of caste in India: Contributions to Indian Sociology (N.S.), 5, 1-81.

Hierarchy also inheres in the relationship of "encompassing" and being encompassed. As postulated in the caste system the pure or the status principle encompasses the impure, the principles of power and economy. Hence, the superiority of the priests over the king, of the transcendental values over the utilitarian values of gratification- in other words, of Dharma and Artha in Indian society.

Gaultherus H. Mees, in his book Dharma and Society,[14] regards that caste system consists of a number of subdivisions of caste which are exclusively endogamous, which show a strong tendency to be socially exclusive, which are hierarchically superposed on a basis of standard, supposedly cultural, and which by the working of these four tendency within the social field of their own delimitation may split up into more and more caste indefinitely.

Sukumari Bhattacharji in his article Understanding Caste[15] observes that caste, in Indian context, covers both the four varnas mentioned in the Vedas and carried on still further in time to Jatis. Today Varna has receded into history and only Jatis are relevant. Author rejects Dumont view of a holistic society based on purity, impurity, and hierarchy. What the author stresses is not hierarchy but institutional as well as the conceptual centrality of the dominant caste not hierarchical superiority of the Brahman. One cardinal issue which author discusses throughout the book is the relationship of caste with power. Caste then, is integrally related to power and the author has shown how it is economic and political authority, which empowered

14. Mees, Gualtherus H, Dharma and Society, The Hague,1935.
15. Bhattacharji, Sukumari: Understanding Caste. Economic and Political Weekly, 20th, August 1994. p 2208.

king through instrumentality of the priest. Power moved, changed hands and changed its contours with social exigencies.

The above book review gives an exhaustive account of the traditional view of caste. The review shows how caste has functioned socially and how it relates to division of labour and economy. Thus all the above definitions can be characterized broadly is two categories (1) caste as a social phenomenon (2) caste as an economic factor.

Yogendra Singh in his book Social Stratification and Change in India[16] has observed that during 1950 there was dominance of structural functional theory led by Srinivas, Beittle, Pauline Kalendo etc. In 1970 structuralism and Marxism made their entry, the former led by Dumount and D.F. Pocock and later by A.R.Desai, Daniel Thorner, and Charles Betellheim. Hence one might categorise the theoretical concerns in the stratification studies of 1970's as (1) structural functional, (2) structuralist, (3) structural historical and (4) historical materialist or Marxist.

Caste Today

Under this heading we will review the views of different writers on caste in the changed situation. The impact of modernisation, education, urbanisation has influenced the traditional caste structure which needs a thorough analysis.

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16. Singh, Yogendra: Social stratification and change in India. Manohar publications. 1999.

C.J. Fuller in his book Caste Today[17] observes, that caste is denied most explicitly in the public domain of the existence or continuing significance of caste in its traditional form. For many Indians, life today in a caste based village society is remembered or imagined as their own past, a social and ideological reality that is now in wane. Furthermore, when the existence and importance of caste are still acknowledged, this often takes the form of a substantialist assertion about cultural distinctiveness ostensibly believing inequality both between and within castes, although substantialisation is itself accompanied at the empirical level by intra-caste differentiation. Moreover, because cultural distinctiveness retains evaluative implication, it can also provide a coded language to refer to caste inequalities. These inequalities are widely recognised and even approved in private, but normally they cannot be legitimately endorsed in public. What may be loosely described as a substantialised version of caste largely prevails, in one guise or another. Thus from above qualifications we can conclude that the identification of substantialisation as a crucial aspect of modern change in the caste system. Among the metropolitan middle class intelligentsia, however caste as constituted by cultural distinctiveness has lost much of its perceived significance as well, and it has tended to become an idiom for status distinctions, which are primarily determined by class inertia.

Andre Beteille in his book Caste, Class and Power[18] has referred to the fast changing time in which the social system has acquired a much more complex and dynamic character and new hierarchies of

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17. Fuller, C.J., Caste Today, ed. Oxford Univesity Press, Delhi. 1997.
18. Beteille, Andre, Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in Tanjore Village. Berkely: University of California Press, 1965.

caste, class and power in the village not only overlap to some extent but also cut across. Today there are many areas of life, which are becoming progressively "caste free", thus land ownership, occupation and even education are not to the same extent dependent upon caste, yet the physical structure of the village continues to be consistent with the cleavages in its traditional social structure. Not only is there even now a strong feeling of identity within each segment of the village - a legacy from the past - but certain political development tend to heighten this feeling of identity.

M. N. Srinivas in his article Future of Indian Caste[19] writes that caste groups, which are in competition with each other for obtaining access to power and resources, bear very little resemblance to the traditional caste, in rural India. But as against this it should be noted that even today agricultural production requires the cooperation of several castes, and even traditionally, competition between different castes did occur though it was not very common. The use of caste idiom is wide spread, though the idea of hierarchy is being increasingly rejected by those group traditionally confined to the bottom (The state has also opted for egalitarianism as an end to be pursued). It is no use saying as Leach says that present day caste have ceased to be such. The situation is much more complex than that. There are continuities and discontinuities, social anthropologists have to reconcile themselves to work in fuzzy areas where not only boundaries are not clear but where multiple and contrary forces are at work.

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19. Srinivas, M.N.: Future of Indian Caste, Economic and Political Weekly, Annual Issue. Feb. 1979, p 237-42.

S.S. Sivakumar and Chitra Shivakumar in their Article Class and Jati at Asthapuran and Karthapuran[20] have observed the changes in class and caste relationship during 1916-76 and have contended that neither the Marxist nor the empiricist analytical premises hold enough explanatory value for the understanding of their data. "The role and function of caste are not explainable in material or dialectical term alone." They add, our view is that conventional Marxism treating caste as a super- structural reality as not fully attentive to its significance of Jati. The author concludes, "not with-standing the evolution of class structure since 1916, and not-withstanding the drastic changes in production relation since the 18th century, we find that the cognitive world in not characterized by "class consciousness". The consciousness, if we may hazard the use of such value laden term, is highly complex with elements of awareness of the consequences of the distribution of income, intermixed with a reinforced awareness of ritual distinctions pertaining to Jati. This element of cognitive dualism manifests itself particularly strongly among the have-nots."

Dr. G.K. karnath in his article Caste in contemporary Rural India[21] comments on the decline of the Jajmani system of local production and exchange especially in agriculturally prosperous areas. Such a decline indicates a fundamental change, for Jajmani had endowed caste with durability through millennia protecting it from ideological attacks on the system. As long as mode of production at the

20. Sivakumar, S.S. and Sivakumar, Chitra 1979, Class and Jati at Asthapuran and Karthapuran., Economic and Political Weekly, (Annual Issue) Feb. 1979 p 263-86.
21. Karnath, G.K., Caste in contemporary rural India, M.N. Srinivas (eds.) Caste: Its twentieth century Avatar. Penguine Book (P) ltd. 1996.

village level was caste based, denunciation of inequality from saints and reformers, or from those professing other faiths, proved ineffective. It was only when, along with ideological attacks on caste, education and employment were made accessible to all and urbanisation and industralisation increased, that fundamental changes began to occur in the institution.

Karnath has pointed that it is easier for castes above the pollution line to change their occupations than it is for Schedule castes' for the work they do, while indispensable, is regarded as defiling. Other caste would refuse to do the same kind of work. The Schedule castes' have no choice but to do it, for the dominant caste will punish their non-compliance with all means at their disposal.

Dr. Jayram in his article Caste & Hinduism[22] views castes either as functionally interrelated in a system contributing to the vertical integration of a rigidly stratified society, or as an autonomous group serving common purposes and striving for common ends. Viewed as a former caste constitutes a structural principal of society and viewed as the latter it acts as a dynamic force in interest articulation, collective mobilisation and social movement.

Andre Beteille in his article The reproduction of inequality[23] observes, that the caste sometimes never operated in the same way at all levels of society. Today the middle class Indian's orientation to caste and to family is quite different. He can repudiate the demands of his caste but not his obligations to his family thus caste is no longer an

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22. Jayram, N., Caste and Hinduism in M.N. Srinivas (eds.) Caste: Its Twentieth Century. Avatar, Penguine Book (P) ltd. 1996.
23. Beteille, Andre, The reproduction of inequality in M.N. Srinivas (eds.) Caste: Its Twentieth Century Avatar, Penguine Book (P) ltd. 1996.

institution in the sense in which the family constitute to be one. Caste is no longer the sole or even the main obstacle to the further advance of equality. " Caste has ceased to play an active part in the reproduction of inequality, at least at the upper levels of social hierarchy where it is no longer an important agent of either social placement or social control. The family is indeed the main obstacle to the further advance of equality."

After the review of the literature on caste we move on to the review of literature on class.

Class

What is class? Or to be precise what constitute a social class? The term "social class " is used by sociologists to refer to the horizontal stratification of a population by means of factor related in some way to the economic life of the society. Within this general delimitation the concept of class has no precise well defined meaning but, it is used either as an omnibus terms designed to designate difference based on wealth, income, status, occupation, level of consumption, family background or some combination of these. There is some agreement that class by definition is not race, nationality, ethnic group or religion. Lack of precision or consensus in the use of term class in sociological theory or research in consequence, has failed to produce a substantial body of complementary and comparable research which results in cumulative knowledge about phenomenon themselves and in maximum insight into their nature. It is time, therefore to take a look at the present status of class theory specifically in context of rural society, and to advance, if possible an integrated theoretical framework for the

use of the concept 'social class' as a tool of sociological analysis. Since Karl Marx and his followers have played a large part in making this concept of class the center of attention their writing demands an early consideration.

In all the voluminous works of Marx however there is no definition of class. Marx and Engel's in their celebrated work Communist Manifesto[24] have only talked about class struggle. In one passage of Communist Manifesto Marx himself says.

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle freemen and slaves, patrician and plebeian, guild master and journeyman, in a word oppressor and oppressed stood in constant opposition to one another carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in common ruin of the contending classes."

Of this selection, however, there are only two political classes the bourgeoisie and proletariat and practically all of the writings of Marx and Engel on the class struggle have been concerned with the behaviours of these two political classes. The term oppressor and oppressed are too generalised to have meaning for definition of political classes or even classes.

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24. Marx, Karl and Engel, Fedrich, Communist Manifesto, Trans.by Fedrich Engels.1888.

Othmar Spann in his article Klasse und Stand[25] criticises the Marxistic, individualistic idea of class formation because it conceives of society as being pathological, where as society should be thought of as healthy organism with class supplementing class. The basic social fact, the basic law of estates, he writes, "is the stratification of society into higher and lower orders according to rank." Spann further adds that "the group in action, if seen isolatedly is called class - class in an individualistic, Marxist sense, but the group in action, if seen organically, that is to say, as an integral part of the totality of the activities of the society and of totality of culture from which activities are derived, is called estate."

Werner sombart in his book Der moderne kapitalismus[26] describes, "class as large individualistic union held together externally by common interest in an economic system and mechanically integrated in a community." Sombart definitely recognises class as a conflict group, but he thinks, "the social class is as an entirely modern formation. Antiquity knows only germs of social classes, the latter emerged as an off- spring of capitalism in recent European history." Thus he conceives of class action as essentially a bourgeoisie- proletariat struggle. Sombert also sees a distinction between "class", "estate" and "social strata" that is the status order that we have called social class above. To quote him fully:-

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25. Spann, Othmar, Klasse und Stand, Handworterbuch Der Staatswissenschaften, Vol 5,Jena, 1923.
26. Sombart, Werner, Der Moderne Kapitalismus, 11, 2, Munchen & Leipzig, 1937.

" Besides these fairly clearly definable large groups, estate and class, we distinguish in addition a social structure, whose limits, however, disappear in a fog. We designate these also in German by the expression "stand", or "ordre" in French and "class" in English but only with some prefix such as middle or middle class. These groups obviously have nothing to do with an estate or a class in the previously designated meaning, for they really exist as a unit only in the conception of statisticians, social theoreticians, social pedagogues and other third persons. This social structure is conceived of by dividing the members of a community into three parts or strata according to their income an upper, a middle and a lower stratum."

Max Weber in his book Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft[27] conceives of class as, a function of the market. Indeed, the author speaks of "class position" as "market position". Weber recognises many types of classes i.e, " possessing or property class ", " earning or income class", "social class", and subdivisions of these, but here class become a classifications rather than a sociological concept. In one leading passage Weber quotes, "The organisation of classes purely on the basis of property is not dynamic i.e., it does not necessarily lead to class struggle and class revolution. The decidedly positively privileged property class of a slave owners often exit side by side with the much less positively privileged class of peasants without any feeling of class antagonism."

MacIver in his book Caste and Class[28] defines social class as, "any portion of the community which is named off from the rest primarily by

27. Weber, Max, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Tubingen, Vol.1,.1922.
28. MacIver, R.M., Society, New York, 1937.

social status- it is the sense of status, sustained by economic, political, ecclesiastical power and by the distinctive modes of life and cultural expressions corresponding to them, which draws class apart from class, gives cohesion to each, and stratifies the whole society."

Prof A.W. Kornhauser in his article Analysis of Class Structure of Contemporary American Society[29] regards social class as those sections of the population, which feel similarly concerning their position and interests, which have a common outlook, and scholastic background and intellectual ability as measured by tests. The upper classes are, in this sense, 'superior'. Thus it shows that difference in contentment will result in difference in desirability of the status quo. In other words, "the figures tend to support the hypothesis that the difference among the socio-economic classes are largely difference in adjustments. These variations in feeling can be expected naturally to manifest themselves in opposed views concerning the present social order and the desirability of change in a ' radical direction' ".

Paul Mombert in his article Class[30] attempts to achieve a monistic explanation of class. He finds that other writers have had quite different conception of class and concludes that the fact, " that various theorists should have found the essential nature of class in such different attributes is to a great extent due to their having in mind different historical periods, for in the historical development of classes essential

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29. Kornhauser, A.W., Analysis of class structure of contemporary American Society, in Industrial conflict, ed. by George W. Hartman and Theodore Newcomb, New- York, 1939.
30. Mombert, Paul, class, Encyclopedia of social sciences.

changes have taken place in their nature." Apparently Mombert thinks that the phenomenon of class has changed essentially in its evolution. He further adds, " the determining forces in class formation have been in the early time social and in recent times mainly economic". And probably estates, social classes, and political classes find themselves easily combined in the assertion that in the course of historical development new criteria for the essential nature of classes have arisen to supplant the old."

Morris Ginsberg in his article Class Consciousness [31] offers the following definition of social classes, however it seems better as a description of social states. "Classes", in modern society (he writes) may be described as group of individuals who through common consent, similarity of occupation, wealth and education have come to live a similar mode of life, a similar stock of ideas, feelings, attitudes and forms of behaviour and who on any or all these grounds meet one another on equal terms and regard themselves although with varying degrees of explicitness as belonging to one group.

Kimball Young in his book An Introductory Sociology[32] writes that, "within the caste or class itself (the author generalizes) there is a distinct sense of cooperation, common interest and awareness of status. That is, there are common habits, attitudes, sentiments, ideas and values upon which they may and do act in harmony, unity as well as

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31. Ginsberg, Morris, Class Consciousness, Encyclopedia of social sciences.
32. Young, Kimball, An Introductory Sociology, New York, 1934.

sense of difference from others and is supported by all sorts of external marks of privilege and prestige such as costumes, badges and distinctive duties and rights."

Andre Beteille in his book Caste, Class and Power[33] defines classes in term of property, of ownership or non-ownership of means of production, classes as such are not defined essentially in terms of social honour, although class position do tend to be associated with differential honours. Property by itself does not create social honour, although it is generally a pre-condition to it. Classes are in principle and to some extent in practice open; castes are not. One may change one's position from tenant to landowner or from agricultural labourers to owner cultivators. One cannot however change from a Vella into a Brahmin or from Palla into a Vella.

Dale L. Johnshon in his book Class and Social Development[34] says that the term "class" is often suppressed in mainstream sociology and attention is riveted on ascriptive and distributional social inequalities. Inequality in income distribution is seen as the main factor of social stratification but invidious social distinction based on occupational pursuit, educational level, lifestyle, and national origin or races are also viewed as important in stratifying the population of a nation. These social inequalities create a society in which individuals are placed on a series of hierarchies of social ranks. To the extent that

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33. Beteille, Andre, Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in Tanjore Village. Berkely: University of California Press, 1965.
34. Johnshon L. Dale, Class and Social development, A new theory of the middle class. Sage Publication, c 1982.

classes are visualised, they represent broad grouping of individual aggregated into categories horizontally cross-cutting the different dimensions of social stratification. Individuals can achieve "social mobility" on any one of several such hierarchies and may suffer "status inconsistency" if their placement on different ranks is not in horizontal congruence.

Harry Beverman in his book Labour and Monopoly Capital[35] says that classes are not fixed empirical entities but social relations in constant historical change. The accumulation of capital manifests itself in the labour process as an incessant transformation of the organisation, character and social relations of work in each of the sectors of production and as a continuous redistribution of the labour force among the sectors. This structure and restructures the social classes.

After the literature review of caste and then of class we should also make a short study of literature about the relationship of caste and class so that in the conclusion based on these reviews we are able to establish a proper relationship between caste and class and also get a better understanding of caste and class, as we have seen above, it is a difficult task to formulate any definition on caste and class which is acceptable to all. Writings on caste and also on class are so varied that at times they pull almost in opposite directions. Similar is the case with the writing on relationship of caste and class. Some of the interesting comments on the subject of caste and class are as following.

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35. Beverman, Harry, Labour and Monopoly Capital; the degradation of the work in the 20th century. NY Monthly Review Press, C. 1974.

Caste and class

Shridhar V.Khetker[36] concludes, "Classes are converted into castes by becoming endogamous."

According to Ogburn and Nimkoff,[37] " Class society may be represented as extending all the way from those castes, which are relatively rigid or closed to those which are flexible and open."

Davis and Dollard[38] say, " Caste in the [American] south is nothing more nor less than a system of limiting social participation between colour groups, and these differentiation between these group with regard to the most fundamental opportunities in human society. In this latter respect it is quite like a system of social classes. It differs from the class system in its arbitrary and final definition of the individual's status."

E.A.Ross[39] is explicit, " Class hardens into caste when the jealous upper class resists or retards the admission of commoners however great their merit or wealth."

According to E.A. Gait,[40] " It has been shown by Senart and others that the divisions into castes has no direct relation with the division into classes. The caste came into existence independently,

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36. Khetker, Shridhar V., The history of caste in India, Vol-1 New York & London, 1909-11, p 28.
37. Ogburn,Willam F. and Nimkoff, Principles of sociology, New York, 1930 p- 317.
38. Gardner, Davis and Dollard, John, Children of Bondage p 19-20.
39. Ross, E.A., Principles of Sociology, New York, 1930, p - 341.
40. Gait, Edward Albert, Caste, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, 1911 part-1,p- 365.

without any regard to the classes. The individual castes no doubt claimed to belong to one or other of the classes, which they still do."

Conclusion

If we compare the definitions of various writers on caste and class we recognize that the structure of a social class is categorically different from that of the caste. If we think, for a moment, of a social class as a status stratum consisting of individuals with heterogeneous, economic, political and religious interests, then, so far as we know there has been no instance in which a class becomes increasingly stable until at length crystallised into a caste. Apparently, the factor, which is supposed to produce the rigidity or inertia in the transformation of a class into a caste, is endogamy. But, historically speaking, endogamy has had the function of securing the segregation of class membership rather than that of solidifying classes. At this point we should mention that a class, as conceptual segment of a classification does not move, only status bearing entities may have social mobility.

Thus so for caste system is concerned, an endogamous social class is anomalous. The conception of the social class may include castes, while the caste consists of individuals. The social class may be conceived as a form of social stratification and social differentiation only; the castes may be a form of social differentiation only. Castes may have collateral social status, social classes must of necessarily be hierarchically superposed. Thus two different castes may be socially equal that is to say, they may be of the same social level just as, for instance, mechanical engineers and electrical engineers may be of same social class. Frequently in class system lateral status extends beyond the

immediate society, so that an American, a Greek, an English men and an Italian of the upper social class in their respective countries will tend to recognise each other in free association on common grounds. In other words, English men may go to France and marry within his class with impunity. The caste, however is socially bounded on every side.

The social class gradient is a status continuum we think of it as including discrete strata only for purposes of analysis and comprehension. Castes however, are distinct segregrable social grouping, while conceptual, class strata-if they are to be meaningful-must be few, the numbers of castes may be practically unlimited. Castes may be classified, but classes are already social classifications. As we have indicated elsewhere there may be social classes within castes, but it is obvious that, there can be no sense in speaking of social classes within social class. A crucial difference between a social class and a caste is that with reference to the social order, the caste is a status bearing entity while the social class is a conceptual stratum of status bearing entities. Therefore the class is not a form of social organisation, that is to say it is not organized in the sense that a caste is.

In a class system it is the family or person who is the bearer of social status, in the caste system it is the caste. The caste system emphasises group status and morality, the individual without a caste is a meaningless social entity. He is an object naturally ignored by the rest of the society. In the process of subjectively classifying persons for consistent behaviour relationships, the individual's rank must be determined only through knowledge of his caste on the other hand it would be ridiculous to say that we know an individuals rank through the knowledge of his social class. We do not define an individuals status by first determining his class position, but rather we determine his class position by ascertaining his status.

Chapter -3

Caste and Class in India

Caste and Class in India

In this chapter I will try to analyse caste and class relationship in different periods of history in India. It is imperative to know for the purpose of my research, the dynamics of caste class relationship, its gradual evolution, its continuance and relevance. This provides me with an insight into the very nature of caste and class relationship and also seeks to clarify many doubts that we may hold about our caste system. In this study as indicated earlier that I do not have any quantitative data to fall upon but have referred to available studies to examine my premises.

Caste or more precisely, Varna, for which the former, a Portuguese synonym, has come into wide use in comparatively recent years, has been an invariable dimension of the social evolution in India during the last 3,500 years. While the general connotation of the concept -as a hierarichal stratification of society has remained unchanged, the specifics of the varna order have undergone a few changes, along with the changes in socio-ecnomic enviornment.

Contrary to naïve view that the four fold varna division, along with the accompanying residue of 'out-caste', was a ready made scheme of social order, of divine or semi-divine origin, and that it has been an inseparable component of the so called Hindu Dharma, most Vedic scholars are in agreement that the concept of varna had undergone changes even in the Vedic phase of history itself.

The earliest of the vedas, the Rigveda, uses the term varna to distinguish Araya varna from the Dasa varna. Varna means colour and "it was in this sense that the word seems to have been employed in contrasting the Arya and Dasa, referring to their fair and dark colours respectively."[1] During Rigvedic phase itself, the Aryan community had started splitting into classes. The Rigveda frequently mentions three strata among the Aryans; Brahman, kshatra and vis, the first being the priestly literati, the second the warrior and the last comprising the common people. "It is only in of the later hymns, the celebrated, Purushasukta, that a reference has been made to four orders of society as emanating from the sacrifice of the primeval being. The names of these four orders are given there as Brahman, Rajanya, Vaisya and Sudra."[2] Some scholars have however expressed doubt about the authenticity of this hymn's claim to Rigvedic origin they believe it to be a later interpolation.

According to one opinion, "the emergence of a distinct class structure" among the Aryans coincided with the formation of the four varnas or what we have now come to identify as castes. "The earliar division into three social groups or varna represented division of labour and division of social product and not division into classes. The first caste class division occurred between the Aryans and the Dasas who were major local enemies of the Aryans. New relations of production were introduced when the conquered Dasas were transformed into a servile and made the helots or servants of the tribe as a whole. The

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1. Ghurye, G.S.: "Caste and Classes in India", Popular Book Depot, Bombay. p 46.
2. Ibid, p 44.

Dasas who were absorbed into the Arayan fold as the Sudra caste, became the main producers of the social surplus."[3]

It is true that the first class division on the world scale was the division between master and slave, the latter procured from captives of alien tribes. It is also true that the pre-Aryan tribes absorbed into Aryan fold as helots were turned into the bases of the social pyramid and designated as fourth, Sudra, varna. But the intra-Aryan division among the three original varnas was itself a class division, prior to the absorption of the pre-Aryans, the Vis or the Vaisya of the original three fold Varna division formed the pedestal of the Aryan society till the assimilation of the non Aryan tribes in the form of the shudras. "The Aitaraya Brahmana describes him (the Vaisya) as tributary to another" and to be suppressed at will.[4]

Indeed, the formation of the three original varnas signified the separation of the manual and mental labour. The Vis or the Vaisyas were condemned to manual labour in order to create and yield surplus produce for the maintenance of the two-higher varnas.

The fact that the kshatriya had been differentiated as a separate warrior stratum signified the advance of the process of dissolution of the primitive communal system, in which wars both defensive as well as offensive were the common responsibility of all able bodied members of the clan. This separation representing the creation of a coercive force distinct from the collective as a whole signified a class division; the

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3. Chandra, Bipin, Karl Marx- His Theories of Societies and Colonial rule, Center for Historical Studies, JNU, p 71.
4. Ghurye, G.S., Caste and Classes in India, Popular Book Depot, Bombay. p 50.

monopoly of the coercive powers in the hand of the upper stratum in turn contributed to a further consolidation of the division.

Divisions of labour simultaneously representing divisions of social product is nothing but a class division, "because the division of labour implies the possibility, nay the fact that intellectual and material activity-enjoyment and labour, production and consumption devolve on different individuals. With the division of labour in which all these contradictions are implicit, which in turn is based on the natural division in the family and the separation of society into individual families opposed to one another, is given simultaneously, the distribution and indeed the unequal distribution both quantitative and qualitative, of labours and its product, hence property."[5]

The differentiation between the Brahmans and the kshatriya represented a division of mental and material labours within the ruling class, "so that within this class one part appears as the thinkers of the class (its active, conceptive ideologists, who make the perfecting of the illusions of the class about itself their chief source of livelihood), while the others' attitude to these ideas and illusions is more passive and receptive, because they are in reality the active members of this class and have less time to make up illusions and ideas about themselves. Within this class, this cleavage can even develop into a certain opposition and hostility between the two parts."[6]

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5. Marx, Karl and Engels, Federich: The German Ideology, Moscow, 1964, p 43-44.
6. Ibid, p 61.

But on the whole it was at least in the early phase, a functional division within the ruling class with opportunity of horizontal mobility. Vedic scholars write many instances of such mobility in the early Vedic phase. For example, one commentator says,"many members of the ruling families finding court life unpleasant due to succession, disputes, intrigues and revolutions adopted lucrative and influential occupation of priesthood."[7]

Referring to its picture of Aryan life as revealed in the Rigveda, Max Muller in a note on the word "caste", adds, "during times of conquest and migration, such as represented to us in the hymns of the Rigveda, the system of caste, as it is described, for instance, in the laws of Manu, would have been a simple impossibility. On the other hand, even during the early period, there must have been a division of labour, and hence we expect to find and do find in the Gramas of the five nations, warriors, sometimes called nobles, leaders, kings, counselours, sometimes called priests, prophets, judges, and working men whether ploughers or builders or road makers, these three divisions we find clearly even in the early hymns of Rigveda."[8]

At a much later period, the varna division was further extended to include a fourth stratum- shudras. The shudra varna must have over the centuries absorbed the impoverished Vaisyas, the mixed descents from early Aryans and the indigenous pre- Aryan tribes, and other elements of pre-Aryan indigenous population absorbed in the lowest rung of the Aryan society. The original social divisions, based on divisions of economic and political powers, buttressed by ethnic,

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7. Chakaravarty, Chandra, The Racial History of India, Calcutta, p 200.
8. Muller, Max, Heritage of India, Sushil Gupta (India) Ltd. Calcutta.1951, p21-2.

particularly colour, differentiation over the centuries crystallised into rigid caste divisions.

The masses of the indigenous pre-Aryan populations, particularly dark in complexion, who refused to be absorbed in the lowest rung of the Aryan order, or were refused absorption, after the Aryans had consolidated their fourfold varna divisions, gradually came to be regarded as "untouchables", the outcaste or the fifth varna.

Thus varna divisions from its original beginning in the Rigvedic phase was essentially a reflection of class differentiation sustained by the ideological and political domination of ruling strata.

Just at the ruling class was functionally, differentiated into collateral kshatriyas and Brahmans, similarly also with the growth of productive forces and consequent separation of handicrafts and agriculture, there came to develop functional differentiation among the practitioner of various crafts. In the course of time and under the condition prevailing, transmission of hereditary skill played an important part in the maintenance and development of crafts and services. Therefore, the growth of sub-castes and their petrifaction into hereditary formations followed as a matter of course.

Medieval Period

Over the centuries, as new crafts and skill developed and new elements from the aboriginal class become absorbed within the wider social frame, dominated by Aryans, the number of sub-castes went on proliferating. And under the over-powering influence of the Brahmanical ideology of hierarchical social order, these sub-castes

became embroiled in struggle for relative superiority vis a vis the other, originally collateral, sub-castes[9].

The first millennium A.D. saw a decline in the role of business class, especially in the plain, due to the foreign invasions and re-emergence of Brahmanism. This coincided probably with the decline of cities and growth of village settlements that were economically more self-sufficient than previously. The resurgence of the business classes was now confined to some pockets in India, mainly Gujarat area and the adjacent Rajasthan. Though limited in sphere, the active role of the business class did continue throughout the medieval period. Irfan Habib[10] (1963) portrays this structural economic conflict between the self-sufficiency of the communal base of the village economy and its pulls towards the individualistic urban market economy during the period. He says that:

Though a large share of the village produce was taken to the urban market, the village hardly received anything in return from the towns. Thus the village was deeply affected by the requirements of the commodity production (i.e. production for the market) and yet had to provide all its needs from within itself. Conditions of money economy, therefore, existed side by side. It was the presence of these contradictory elements that probably accounted for the social contradiction manifest in the existence of an individualistic mode of production in the agriculture on the one hand and the organisation of the village community on the other.[11]

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9. Roy, Ajit, Caste and Class: An Interlinked View. Economic and Political Weekly. Annual Issue, Feb 1979 p 299.
10. Habib, Irfan 1963, An Examination of witttogal's Theory of Oriental Despotism, Enquiry,6, p 54-78.
11. Ibid, p 118-19.

Despite these contradictory pulls, the dynamism of the class structure of both the cities and the villages continued. Villages were constantly responding to market demands in far off regions for new crops both for food and cash. This implied not only the existence of agrarian classes but also a stable class of merchants, middlemen and bankers in towns and cities to keep the mercantile activities going.

British Era

The British trade and commercial policies affected the bulk of Indian artisan classes, led to the decline of many towns and cities and to large-scale rural ward migration. Ruralisation had already set in with the decline of the Mughal Empire and the intervening social and political unrest. The company's policies, such as its currency regulation and banking practices, its favoured treatment to the port towns to the neglect of vast number of inland towns, its policy of taxation and tariffs and many other biases in social and economic policies led to the decline of the traditional Indian economic structure and its former class structure. The land settlement policy adopted by the British government in many parts of the country further altered the class structure in the rural areas and created new vested interests for agrarian exploitation. These historical factors influenced the nature of class structure as it emerged subsequently in the Indian society.[12]

The early British economic and political policies in India led on the one hand to the destruction of many older bases of class formation and on the other created new foundations for the emergence of a feudal

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12. Singh, Yogendra: Social stratification and change in India. Manohar publications. 1999. p 62.

agrarian class structure. In cities a new industrial and mercantile middle class came into being and there also emerged a new bureaucratic administrative class. The British, however, only succeeded in altering the nature of class circulation in India, and not it's social base. Nevertheless the sociology of the Indian class stratification bears a deep imprint of these historical antecedents in two respect; first, the middle classes that subsequently emerged maintained the structural continuity in terms of recruitment and social background with the previous class structure and secondly, the British contact set a process of new cultural adaptation among the new middle classes.

Agrarian system as it evolved during the British regime in India was based either on the Zamindari or the Ryotwari type of land settlements. These systems generated more or less a similar agrarian class structure in the village. The zamindari system had the zamindars, tenants and agricultural labourers as the main agrarian classes. The ryotwari system consisted of two types of peasants the Ryot- land lords and the Ryot - peasants[13]. Infact, the landlordism, which was rural in zamindari areas, had a de-facto existence in the ryotwari areas. The agrarian class structure all over India had a feudal character, the zamindars were tax gatherers and non cultivating owners of land, the tenants were the real cultivators often without security of land tenure and the agricultural labourers in most parts of the country had the status of bondsman and hereditary attached labourers. With the support of the British colonial power this highly exploitative system persisted despite frequent peasant unrest and movements.

The challenge to the feudal class structure emerged with the rise of the nationalist movement. Not only was a radical agrarian ideology

13. Ibid, p 63.

accepted but national leadership actively undertook the cause of exploited peasantry and had Kisan movement in various parts of the country.[14] Following independence, therefore, land reform was introduced in most states and a beginning was made for transformation in the agrarian class structure. Most sociological studies of the agrarian structure refer to these processes of social change.

Post 1947 Period

The impact of land reform on the agrarian class structure has been uneven. It led to the eviction of smaller tenants. Smaller tenants received much less protection and suffered more by eviction than the bigger ones. Land reforms also led to marked decline in tenancy and growth of owner cultivators. In this process the eviction of share croppers and real tenants caused hardship to the rural poor.

The trends in the agrarian class structure and relationship have been summarised by P.C. Joshi.[15]

Decline of feudalistic and customary type of tenancy and its replacement by more exploitative and insecure lease arrangement.

The increasing importance of the commercial tenancy based on the rich and the middle strata of peasantry who are part owners and part tenants and possesses resources and enterprises for dynamic agriculture.

The decline of feudal landlords and the rise of commercially oriented landlord either functioning as owner-farmers or utilizing the mode of a new non-customary type of tenancy for the pursuit of agriculture as a business proposition.

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14. Ibid, p 63.
15. Joshi, P.C., Land Reform and Agrarian change in India and Pakistan (Report) 1971.

The emergence of commercial peasants has led to the important socio-economic consequences in the country. First, it has increased the efficiency and productivity of agriculture and has led the country to what is popularly called a green revolution; but, secondly, the process of agricultural capitalism in villages associated with the decay in the fortunes of the poor peasantry and agricultural labourers has also accentuated class conflicts and tensions in various part of the country. In fact, the agricultural prosperity of a few magnifies the poverty of the many and lead to social discontent. This is further enlarged into class movement and radical political mobilisations. Thus, a cumulative or value added process of agrarian unrest tends to operate which has far-reaching social and political implications.[16]

Thus the development of the post 1947 period could be enumerated as following.

The basic framework has not altered in its essence from what it was in 1947 but certain significant shifts had occurred in relative strength and positions. The feudal interests are enfeebled but not destroyed and are still a powerful economic and political force particularly in backward state and regions.

There has emerged a powerful class of rich peasants dominating the economic, political and social life of the countryside in close linkage and collaboration with the feudal interest on one hand and industrial and trading bourgeoisie on the other. Political democratisation has enabled them to establish a decisive hold and control over the power structure at the state and lesser levels and they can exercise enormous influence at the center. The Indian capitalists are strengthened

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16. Singh, Yogendra: Social stratification and change in India. Manohar publications. 1999. p 68.

enormously; big business has further consolidated its monopolist position and is pursuing the dual policy of building its own independent strength as well as that of active collaboration with foreign capital for widening its domain of exploitation. Capitalism has deeply penetrated the rural areas, in agriculture, trade,. and Agro and other industries. The capitalist advance has also brought about the corresponding expansion and differentiation of the educated middle classes, among whom has crystallised a new super elite of highly qualified technocrats, management personnel, and top echelons of bureaucracy and defence services. The working class has also grown but is divided and has partly lost much its organisational solidarity and militancy. The white collor employees have strengthened their bargaining position and an incipient labour aristocracy may appear to have emerged in the modern sector of industry.

In terms of old social structure, the caste structure -the upper castes have lost much of their direct political leverage. Yet, because of their entrenched position they wield considerable influence in the economy and administration as therefore indirectly in the political sphere. The rise of rich peasantry has brought the middle social strata of the society, the middle land based castes to leading position in the rural economy and in state politics. Their leadership used its newly acquired political power and prestige to spread education in small towns and rural areas so that the middle social strata have now been enabled to enter the educational middle classes at various levels in considerable numbers. The spread of education has thrown up an educated class of a small but sizeable number also among the socially lower and even the lowest strata, the scheduled castes, tribes and other backward

communities. They are as a result trying to assert their identity and claim for rightful place in economy, polity and society.

To these must be added the increased polarisation in income distribution, the increased incidence of poverty and unemployment, and the consequent gradation in the quality of life of the overwhelmingly large populations in many of the lower deciles. Thus the basic contradiction of the present period is as before and even more so between the economically affluent and politically and socially powerful classes in the towns and the countryside and their henchmen on one hand and the deprived and exploited sections on the other viz., the large majority of working population, the industrial proletariat and the urban poor, the poor peasants, the agricultural proletariat and other rural poor with the rest of the middle segments hovering between these two main contending formations.[17]

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17. Kamat, A. R., The Emerging Situation, A Socio- Structural Analysis. Economic and Political Weekly, Annual Number, Feb 1979, p 353.

Chapter -4

Socio-Economic Profile Of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh

Socio - Economic profile of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh

This chapter allows us to have an insight into social and economic conditions of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. It also gives us valuable information about the scene of our investigation, its culture, and environment. This greatly helps us in our analysis of various premises of social and economic factor. Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is located between 23° 51'N to 28° 31'N Latitude and 81° 30' E to 84° 34'E Longitude (see fig. 4.1). The eastern part of Uttar-Pradesh is bounded in the east by Bihar, in the north by Nepal, and in south by Madhya-Pradesh.[1] Eastern Uttar-Pradesh represents a society rich in its ancient culture and heritage. This ancient culture has flourished from time immemorial and has withstood many attacks and intrusions. Various invasions and intrusions have given this society a multi-ethnic character with diverse tradition and culture. This diversity has provided Eastern Uttar-Pradesh with richness and uniqueness rarely witnessed.

The above noted characteristics can be amply seen in the study of social structures of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. The society of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is composed of various communities. The principal communities that live in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh are as follows.

Hindu

This major community was originally divided into four branches viz., Brahaman, Kshatriya , Vaishay and Sudra.[2] This ancient division was mainly occupational but gradually it developed into hereditary

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1. Singh, J., Population, Enviornment and Economic development of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh, Gyanodaya Prakashan Gorakhpur. P 24.
2. Uttar-Pradesh District Gazetteer Azamgarh; Published by the Government of Uttar-Pradesh, (Department of district Gazetteers, Uttar-Pradesh, Lucknow) 1971, p 54.

order. At present in the modern society, due to the impact of progressive social and economic forces the old caste structure is crumbling though slowly. It has already lost much of its rigidity though mostly in urban areas.

Majority of Hindus in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh belong to no definite sect are denomination, the worshippers of the panchon pit or five saints, a cult quite prevalent. The religious belief is probably that the designation of monotheist is intended in general to record belief in one impersonal God in the abstract, apart from the idea of any special impersonation. Besides there are many kabirpanthis and Raidasis.

Among the Brahmans, the more numerous are Sarwarias or Sarjuparis, both names having a territorial origin and meaning, Brahmins of Sarwar or Sarjupar, that is the country beyond the Saryu and Gahara rivers.

Rajputs who claim to be kshatriya take an important place, though this position varies according to region and place.[3] Rajputs belong to great variety of clans, Bais, Bisens, Sombansis, Chandels, Nikumbhs, Dikhits, Chauhans, Rathors, Raghubansis, Panwars etc. Among other Hindu castes their are some which call for mention i.e. Kahars, Banias, kurmis, Lohars, kumhars, Telis, kewats, Pasis, kayasthas, Dhobis, Nais and Mallah. The kahars are engaged in personal service, general labour and to some extent in cultivation are found in all the tehsils. The Banias are kandus, a caste which seems to have affinity with Bhar-bhunjas. They often parch grain and also practice many occupations in connection with the preparation and selling of minor articles of food.

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3. Ibid, p 54.

Muslims

Majority of the muslims in Easten Uttar-Pradesh belong to sunni sect. Among them the most numerous are Julahas or Weavers.[4] A majority of them follow their anscestral occupation of weaving country cloths. Of many subdivisions of muslims there are Siddiquis, Qurreshis Ansaris, Usmanis, and Abbasis, besides there are Behnas, Hajams, Faquirs, Jogis, Sains are Kamkalis who are all muslim ascetics similar to Faquirs. The Saiyids who are usually Shias by sect are numerous, Hussains forming the bulk of the subcaste. The remaining castes are Darzis, Qaassabs (butchers), Telis, Bhangis, Dhobis, Mughals, Bhats, Kumeras, Dafalis, Kunjars and Nats.

Other important communities that live in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh are that of Christian, Sikhs, and Jains. Christians are mainly engaged in missionary works and education. Sikhs are found in urban areas and are mainly engaged in trade and business. Jains too are found in few pockets of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh.

Manners and customs

Though the general pattern of life of all the communities is becoming increasingly uniform under the socio-economic stresses of modern living, nevertheless each community has its own particular way of life, distinguished by various manners and customs. Among Hindus some of the important ceremonies are Namkaran (chriestening), Mundan, Janeu or Upanayana (sacred thread ceremony), Vivah (marriage ceremony), Anthyesthi (death rite). Some of important

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4. Ibid, p 55.

ceremonies of muslims are Akika (a sacrifice which has two parts, namely shaving of child's head and killing one or two goats), Bismillah (taking the name of the god), khatna (circumcision), Nikah (marriage) and death rite.[5]

Inter-Caste relations

As in other parts of the country nearly a generation ago inter-caste relations were very rigid. The members of different castes and sub castes lived in almost watertight compartments and inter-caste dining and marriages were either taboo or were sharply looked down upon. This picture has now greatly changed, especially in the post independence period. Inter-caste dining is no longer looked down upon with disapproval by the people anywhere in the districts particularly in towns. Inter-caste marriage though not very common are now frequent than before and many of the traditional restrictions on marriage based on caste are slowly disappearing as a result of spread of education, influence of western culture, growing equality of sexes and consequent removal of disabilities from which women suffered in the past.

Property and Inheritance

The succession and inheritance to property other than agricultural holdings among the Hindus, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhist are being governed by the Hindu succession act, 1950.[6] This enactment confers equal rights on sons and daughters in paternal property. But such property can also be distributed through wills and gifts.

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5. Ibid, p 57.
6. Ibid, p 58.

Devolution of agricultural property follows provisions of Uttar-Pradesh zamindari abolition and land reform act 1950, which is applicable to all. In respect of other civil property, the muslims are governed by their personal law of succession and inheritance and the Christians by the Indian succession act of 1925.

Joint family

The institution of joint family and co-parency system though still in existence, are rapidly disintegrating under the import of various economic and social forces. Family structures both in towns and villages are now losing its solidarity and the common purse; common kitchen and common property in land are gradually losing its place as characteristic of a joint family life, the main causes of the decline being the impact of modern ideas. Younger generation is individualistic, so when the father dies the son tends to separate and seek a division of family inheritance. The lure of cities and the towns and the expectation of finding better employment there, encourages the flow of the rural population to the urban areas which tend to split up the village home. The pattern of family is patriarchal and women are mostly dependent on their men folk for maintenance and protection, only few are economically independent and earn their own living.

Impact of Zamindari abolition on social life

The zamindari abolition and land reform act, 1950, which came into operation in 1952, brought about many significant changes in social and economic life of the peasants. The rural elite, consisting mainly of zamindars, who had been exploiting external tillers of the land for

several centuries have been replaced by a community of progressive farmers owing land and cultivating with full vigour, adopting modern methods of agriculture. Not only the per-capita availability of farm produce has increased but also the general prosperity of the people has improved manifesting itself in better food, dress, dwellings and other habits. New educational institutions are coming up rapidly though the voluntary effort of the people to combat the forces of ignorance, which had impeded the mental growth of the rural society, which is under going a fast transformation to meet fresh challenges of life successfully.

New Trends

Winds of change are blowing all around India under the impact of Five year plans. Patterns in dress, ornaments, social customs, food, mode of living, religious beliefs and practices and other habits of people have undergone noticeable transformation. Impact of cinema is far-reaching but not always healthy. With the diversification of occupation and spread of education social barriers are gradually breaking down and the rigidity and rigours of the caste system are also disappearing. As a result the cases of inter-caste and inter-provincial marriages, have increased and the entire society has become sociable except in few cases, particularly in the rural areas where untouchability persists and social legislation for abolition of untouchability has not made any social impact. Extension of general and technical education has opened new vistas of employment on account of the implementation of different schemes of the Five-year plans. Women have shed their shyness and begun to take their place among men in the society. By and large people have become politically conscious and take interest in the elections whether of panchyatas, state legislatures or parliament. With the increase in agriculture production and rise in prices, the purchasing

power of agriculturist, has increased as a result thereof they spend lavishly on their religions and social customs. The farmers have acquired political power through the right of franchise both at the state and district level with the introduction of Panchayati Raj.

Economy

Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is one of the economically most backward and poverty stricken regions of the country. Over the years the region has acquired an unenviable reputation for economic backwardness and stagnation. With a population of 527.22 lakhs in 1991 and an area of 86,423 Sq km, Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is a fairly large geographical entity accounting for 37.9% of the population and 29% of the area of the state. Only 5 states in the country have a larger size of population than that of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh.

Eastern Uttar-Pradesh presents a classic case of a backward economic region with low income and productivity levels, predominance of agricultural sector, extremely low levels of urbanisation, inadequately developed infrastructure, widespread illiteracy, high birth rates and low levels of investments.[7] A profile of the economy of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is presented as below.

Minerals

Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is a poor state in terms of raw materials. Some minerals like bauxite, limestone, sandstone, and Iron-ore are found in small quantities. The main Raw material of Eastern

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7. Singh, Ajit Kumar, (1981), Pattern of regional development: A comparative study. Sterling Publishers, New Delhi. Page - 3.

Uttar-Pradesh is limestone, which is primarily found in the district of Mirzapur. Limestone is primarily used for the manufacture of cement. The second important ore of the area is lead, which is found in Shankargadh, Bargadh, and Lalgadh regions. Coal and marble are also found in the district of Mirzapur. Bauxite is mainly found in the district of Allahabad in Madurai, Shankargadh, and Darbari areas. Recent geological studies have also indicated the presence of iron-ore in the district of Mirzapur.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. The main crops of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh are wheat, rice, potato and sugarcane. Wheat is the main crop of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh and is sowed in 1/3rd of the total cultivated land .It approximates around 27.79% of the total land. Sugarcane is the only cash crop of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. It represents around 4.92% of the total cultivated land. The effects of green revolution could be clearly seen in the area, as there has been sharp increase in per-hectare production of certain cereals like wheat and rice.

Industries

Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is very poor state in terms of industrialisation. The distribution of industries in this area is quite uneven, most of the industries are located near big urban centers. The plains of Sarjupar and southern Mirzapur can be called zero industrial area. Allahabad, Varanasi, Gorakhpur, Deoria are big industrial centers

in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. The distribution of industries in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh as in 1997 can be been from table-4.2.

Population

Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is a fairly large geographical entity with an area of 86,423 59 Sq. km. and with a population of 527.2 lakhs as in 1991. Eastern Uttar-Pradesh accounts for 37.99 percent of the population and 29.4 percent of the area of the state; only 5 states in the country have a larger size of population than that of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. The density of population in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is maximum in districts of Allahabad Varanasi and Deoria. The extent of population in these districts represents the developed nature of infrastructural facilities like education, transport and communication, power, Industries etc in these districts. Thus the uneven economic development of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh has its impact on distribution of the population. The developed areas like Varanasi, Deoria and Gorakhpur are found to have high density of population, whereas areas like Sonbhadra, Mirzapur have very low density of population see table - 4.3.

Backwardness of the Economy of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh

Lack of economic diversification in the economy of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh and its over dependence on the agricultural economy is the root cause of its poverty. The economic structure of the region has remained almost stagnant. Even in 1991 nearly 90% of the population in this region was living in the rural areas (see table - 4.4) and nearly 80% of the workers were engaged in agriculture. As a result, the pressure of population on agriculture had become excessive with consequent

diminution in the size of holdings and increase in number of landless agricultural labourers.

Though over all population density in eastern and western Uttar-Pradesh is nearly equal, rural population density in the former region (511 per sq km) is considerably higher as compared to the latter region (466 per sq km), as many as 82.37% of the land holding in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh belong to the category of marginal holdings accounting for 43.4% of the operated area. Corresponding figures for western Uttar-Pradesh are 66.1% and 24.77% respectively. Average area of operational holding has sunk to 0.67 hectares as compared to 1.09 hectares in western Uttar-Pradesh. Obviously the capacity of majority of such holdings to generate surplus for reinvestment is extremely limited see table-4.5.

In these circumstances agriculture in region remains subsistence oriented over 90% of cropped area of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh are under food grain cultivation, whereas this proportion is only 72% for Western Uttar-Pradesh. In agriculturally prosperous district like Meerut, Muzzafarpur hardly 40% of the area is under food grain cultivation and rest is under commercial crops. Value productivity in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh therefore remains low.

The main cause of wide spread poverty in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh thus lies in high agrarian density of population in the region due to lack of diversification of the economy. The majority of marginal holdings hardly generates any surplus for agricultural growth and restrains the demand for non-agricultural products. This constrains the growth of nonagricultural activities in the region, thus engulfing the region in the

vicious circle of poverty. Low per-capita income in agriculture restricts the growth of non-agricultural activities, which in turn raise the dependence of the people on agriculture reducing their per capita income.[8]

Extreme poverty uneven economic development marginal holdings and mainly agrarian population under the impact of modernisation gives the society of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh a unique character. The rural masses are still living with those ascriptive values, which are today facing a tough challenge from modernisation, liberalisation, politicisation and democracy. Social values and caste equations are fast changing. The society today is in flux trying to adjust between the old ascriptive values and new modern egalitarian values.

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8. Singh, Ajit kumar, (1993), Changes in the structure of rural work-force in Uttar-Pradesh: A temporal and regional study, in viseria, Prawin and Rakesh Basant (eds), Non agricultural employment in India, Sage Publication, New Delhi Page 23-24.

81°
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84°
EASTERN UTTAR PRADESH
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E
P
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L
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Kms
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Gonda
Sidoarth Nagar
Mahraj Ganj
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Basti
Gorakhpur
Devaria
Faizabad
Sultanpur
18°
Azamgarh
Mau
Pratapgarh
Balia
Jaunpur
Gazipur
Allahabad
Varanasi
19°
Mirzapur
B
MADHYA PRADESH
Sonbhadra

Fig. 4.1

Table- 4.2

District wise Heavy, Medium and Small Scale Industries in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh as on (March 1997).

District	Heavy and Medium Industries	Small scale Industries
Gorakhpur	14	3378
Deoria	18	4002
Basti	14	3500
Siddhart Nagar	-	1818
Padrauna	-	235
Maharaj Ganj	5	2037
Azamgarh	2	2950
Jaunpur	17	4150
Ballia	2	5022
Mau	3	2035
Varanasi	25	12428
Mirzapur	5	4377
Bhadoi	0	289
Gazipur	4	4492
Sonbhadra	6	2269
Faizabad	16	4521
Gonda	11	4007
Bahraich	3	3331
Sultanpur	23	5529
Ambedkar Nagar	0	127
Allahabad	21	10251
Pratapgarh	1	3427

Source- Uttar-Pradesh at a Glance1998,Jagaran Prakashan Kanpur. p 158-163

Table 4.3

Districtwise, Area and Population Density in 1991 Of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh.

District	Area in Sq.km.	Population Density Per Sq.Km.
Gorakhpur	3324	922
Deoria	5445	815
Basti	3733	734
Siddhart Nagar	3495	489
Padrauna	-	-
Maharaj Ganj	2948	569
Azamgarh	4234	745
Jaunpur	4038	796
Ballia	2981	59
Mau	1713	844
Varanasi	5092	955
Mirzapur	4522	366
Bhadoi	-	-
Gazipur	3377	716
Sonbhadra	6788	158
Faizabad	4511	660
Gonda	7352	486
Bahraich	6877	402
Sultanpur	4436	577
Ambedkar Nagar	-	-
Allahabad	7261	678
Pratapgarh	3717	595

Source- Statistical Abstract of Uttar-pradesh 1996, Economics and statistical Division State planning Institute Uttar-Pradesh Lucknow. p 11,15.

Table 4.4

Districtwise, Urban and Rural population in lakhs in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh 1991.

District	Rural Population	Urban Population
Gorakhpur	24.90	5.75
Deoria	41.13	3.26
Basti	25.62	1.75
Siddhart Nagar	6.48	0.59
Padrauna	-	-
Maharaj Ganj	15.93	0.82
Azamgarh	29.28	2.25
Jaunpur	29.93	2.21
Ballia	20.38	2.24
Mau	12.01	2.43
Varanasi	35.38	13.22
Mirzapur	14.28	2.88
Bhadoi	-	-
Gazipur	22.38	1.78
Sonbhadra	9.30	1.44
Faizabad	26.31	3.47
Gonda	33.08	2.64
Bahraich	25.46	2.16
Sultanpur	24.44	1.14
Ambedkar Nagar	-	-
Allahabad	38.98	10.22
Pratapgarh	20.88	1.22

Source- Statistical Abstract of Uttar-pradesh 1996, Economics and statistical Division State planning Institute Uttar-Pradesh Lucknow. p 11,13.

Table 4.5

Levels of Economic development in various regions of Uttar-Pradesh.

Development Indicators	Eastern	Western	Cent-ral	Bundel khand	Hill	Uttar-Pradesh
Population						
Density of population (per sq. km.) (1991)	614	603	528	229	116	473
Decennial growth in population (%) (1981-91)	26.6	25.9	23.4	24.0	22.5	25.5
Percentage of urban population to total population(1991)	11.6	26.3	23.7	21.3	21.7	19.8
Percentage of Scheduled Castes population to total population (1991)	20.7	18.6	26.4	25.7	16.7	21.0
Percetage share in state's population (1991)	37.9	35.6	17.4	4.8	4.3	100
Health and Education						
No. of Allopathic Hostipals/ Dispensaries including PHCs Per laks of population (1991-92)	3.3	3.1	3.5	4.7	10.4	3.7
No. of beds Allopathic Hostipals/ Dispensaries including PHCs Per laks of population (1991-92)	42.0	47.1	62.3	48.8	121.9	52.0
No. of PHCs Per laks of population (1991-92)	2.6	1.9	2.2	2.7	3.6	2.3
Literacy percentage (1991-92)	38.6	42.0	42.6	42.3	59.6	41.6
Literacy percentage (Female) (1991)-	20.9	26.6	28.3	23.9	42.9	25.3
No. of Schools per lakh of popu lation (1992-93):						

Development Indicators	Eastern	Western	Cent-ral	Bundel khand	Hill	Uttar-Pradesh
(a) Junior Basic	48	50	57	69	142	55
(b) Senior Basic	9	9	12	13	30	11
Infrastructural Facilities						
Length of PWD Roads per lakh of Population (kms.) (1992-93)	45.0	48.4	47.0	83.3	196.7	54.8
Length of PWD Roads per Thousand Sq. km. of area (kms.) (1992-93)	284.8	300.6	254.3	195.5	233.4	266.6
Per capita power consumption (kwh) (1991-92)	151.7	222.3	148.3	94.5	232.1	176.9
Percentage of electrified villages to total villages (1991-92)	72.8	84.4	66.2	62.8	75.3	74.7
Percentage of net area irrigated to net area sown (1991-92)	60.5	82.9	58.4	34.5	33.7	64.2
Agriculture and Allied						
Percentage of holdings below one hectare (1990-91)	82.3	66.1	74.3	50.1	71.2	73.8
Average area of total holdings (hectare) (1990-91)	0.67	1.09	0.85	1.71	0.94	0.90
Distribution of fertilizers per hectare of gross cropped area (kgs) (1991-92)	90.9	106.3	80.9	27.9	74.2	88.9
Gross value of agricultural produce per hectare of gross Area sown (Rs. At current Prices) (1990-91)	7274	10089	8087	5829	7854	8339

Development Indicators	Eastern	Western	Cent-ral	Bundel khand	Hill	Uttar-Pradesh
Per rural person net area sown (hectare) (1991-92)	0.12	0.17	0.16	0.35	0.11	0.15
Productivity of Foodgrains (qtls./ ha) (1991-92)	16.9	21.9	17.5	10.2	16.6	17.8
Per capita foodgrains prod uction (kgs.) (1991-92)	242.8	264.4	243.6	290.4	254.2	252.7
Industry and Minerals						
No. of persons engaged in working factories per lakh of populati on (1987-88)	242	699	662	227	525	568
Per capita gross value of industrial produce (Rs.) (1987-88)	499	1648	892	278	995	1091
No. of working factories per lakhs of population (1987-88)	2.2	10.9	6.7	1.6	8.6	6.3
Banking and Finance						
Credit Deposit Ratio (june 1993)	32.3	47.9	46.8	41.1	36.3	42.6
No. of scheduled commercial banks per lakh of population (1992-93)	5.2	5.9	6.4	6.2	11.5	6.0
Employment and Manpower						
Percentage of main workers to total population (1991)	29.5	28.3	30.6	32.6	36.4	29.7
Main workers engaged in agriculture to total main workers (1991)	77.2	66.4	72.9	78.5	64.6	72.2

Development Indicators	Eastern	Western	Cent-ral	Bundel khand	Hill	Uttar-pradesh
Income						
Per rural person gross value of agricultural produce (Rs. at current prices) (1990-91)	1399	2624	1901	2417	1837	1960
Per capita net output from commodity producing sector (Rs. at current prices) (1990-91)	1394	2570	1760	2219	2263	1953

Source: Planning Department, Government of Uttar-Pradesh, Annual Plan, 1995-96, Lucknow.

Chapter -5

Socio-Economic Survey of Two Districts of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh

Socio-Economic Survey of two districts of Eastern Uttar- Pradesh

This chapter gives a brief profile of the two districts of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. The attempt is to show the relevance of the towns in the context of the study of social stratification in the Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. It also presents the results of the survey conducted in the two districts with explanatory notes.

Introduction to the Survey

In order to get a clear picture of how different castes and classes in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh have responded to social and economic changes over the last five decades, I had decided to do field work in the two districts of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. In view of the fact that it was impossible to exhaustively conduct the survey of the whole district, I chose one village from each district as sample for my study to generate raw data on the basis of which few generalisations could be made. The study of the Indian villages dates back to late nineteenth century, still some anthropologists and sociologists entertain doubts about the sociological relevance of the choice of a single village or a few village as the unit of study. Dumont and Pocock, for instance, after a detailed study of the existing literature on village studies conclude: "Much of the material presented by the contributors to this volume suggests in fact the inadequacy of the village as a unit of study."[1] They deny the villages, any sociological existence, to them caste should be the proper unit of study, instead of villages. Bailey, in a rejoinder rightly pointed

1. Dumont, L. and Pocock, D, Village studies, op. cit, ; p 25.

out that the village can be considered as the very basic unit of sociological work of a village.[2] The ownership and control of land and manifold relations deriving from it are surely some of the crucial areas, which a sociologist can focus upon.[3]

The second objection about the village study mainly put forward by the economists is that in a vast country like India, a study of one or a few villages is insignificant in terms of any theoretical generalisations. Srinivas answers this objection very succinctly; "An obvious objection to the study of a single village is its inability to inform us about the country as a whole, in one sense the truth of the statement is obvious but in another sense it is not true. It is of course absurd to try and generalise on rural India from the study of single village, but if it is remembered that inspite of its bewildering diversity, there are certain broad regional and even national similarities in India, even that study can be productive of knowledge and insights which could be translated into hypothesis and leads in future research .It also gives some idea of the quality of village life."[4] Though an intensive study of a few villages has its limits in terms of broad generalisations, it has its advantages also. It takes into account societal facts, otherwise imperceptible in large scale surveys, the modes of relationships and subtle changes emerging therefrom and puts forward the results in form of a hypothesis, the merit of which can be tested from other studies.

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2. Bailey, F.G., For a Sociology of India. Contributions to Indian Sociology, No- 3 (1959),p 88-101.
3. See, Beteille, Andre, Studies in Agrarian Social Structure, p 40.
4. Srinivas, M.N., Village Studies, Participant observation and social science research in India. Economic and Political weekly, Vol 10, No.33-35, 1975 p 1392-93.

Since operationally the village can be easily identifiable because of its demarcation for territorial, administrative and revenue purposes, as Mukherjee points out, "they have a reasonable claim to be the focal point of rural studies."[5] In order to select a village or a group of villages three methods are usually followed: (1) census method, (2) purposive selection method and (3) random sampling method. In any small-scale study where intensive fieldwork by a single person is involved, both the census method and the random sampling method become unsuitable. Therefore I have chosen the purposive selection method for small-scale intensive study.

In this study, before selecting the sample villages an extensive exploratory survey of different regions of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh was carried out and two-predominately agricultural district of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh were selected. First Allahabad, though predominantly an agricultural district has a strong urban base and other Azamgarh which has a weak urban base. This provides me with an opportunity to compare and contrast the effects of modernisation and urbanisation on two diverse regions of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. A brief description of the socio-economic conditions of these districts will help to set the scene for my investigation.

Allahabad

Allahabad also known as Prayag, is anchored deep in history, situated at the confluence of the great rivers the Ganga, the Yamuna, and the mythical Saraswati. It is niched in Hindu mythology weaving

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5. Mukherjee, Ram Krishna, A note on village as unit or variable for studies of rural society, (Mimegraphed).

around it an aura of sacredness.[6] The foundation of the present city of Allahabad are said to have been laid in 1575, by Mughal Emperor Akbar who also built a fort by the side of the Yamuna just ahead of the confluence. In 1868, Allahabad became the capital of Uttar-Pradesh (Then the North west Province), and remained so till mid 1920's when government offices were gradually shifted to the more central town of Lucknow.

Location and Boundary

The district is located in the southeast corner of the central region, bordering Banaras in the east and the state of Madhaya- Pradesh in the south. The district forms the tail end of Allahabad division to the south and it lies between the latitude 24° 47' and 25° 47' north and longitude 81° 19' and 82° 29'east.[7] Topographically this may be divided into two parts- the trans Ganga tract or the Gangapar plain, and the trans Yamuna tract or the Yamunapar plain. These are formed by two main rivers, the Ganga and the Yamuna. The trans- Ganga part consists of the Soraon, Phulpur, and Handia thesils. The trans- Yamuna part consists of Bara, Karchana, Meza and Koraon thesils.

Economy

As the lands of Allahabad district are highly fertile, the agriculture and its allied activities enjoy an overriding place in the economy of the district. Nearly 727469 hectares of area of the district is

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6. Uttar-Pradesh District Gazeteer Allahabad, Government Press, Lucknow 1986, p 1.
7. Ibid, p 1.

utilized for cultivation.[8] One third of the net area sown is made to bear two and occasionally more than two crops in a year. The important crops of the area are wheat and rice, which cover the maximum cultivated land. The other crops of the area do not hold the same position of importance as is evident from the table.

Table- 5.1

(Production of Major Crops in Allahabad)

Year 1990-91

Crops	Area in Hectares	Production in Metric Tonnes	Average Yield Metric Tonnes
Rice	169116	315675	18.67
Bajara	51340	38490	7.50
Maize	241	413	17.14
Wheat	249635	553821	22.19
Total pulses	90595	129011	14.24

Source: Statistical Abstract of Uttar-Pradesh 1996. Economic and statistical division state planning Institute Uttar-Pradesh Lucknow. p 284-323 .

The irrigated land in the district is around 414590 hectares, which is 63.2% of the total sown area.[9] The electrification of the district is nearly complete with over 89.1% of the village under electricity.[10] Though the economy of Allahabad is primarily agrarian as most of its population, i.e. (38989448 Lakhs) live in villages and only (1022365

8. Statistical Abstract of Uttar-Pradesh 1996, Economics and statistical Division State planning Institute Uttar-Pradesh, Lucknow. p 262.
9. Ibid, p 364.
10. Ibid, p 462.

Lakhs) live in urban areas.[11] But there is no doubt that it is an important urban centre of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. Its urban structures are well developed and we find that High court was established in the province way back in 1866. In 1877, the foundation of Muir central college was laid and which ten years later became the University of Allahabad. The first in the province and fourth in the country. The district also has good industrial base and Naini has been developed as an industrial estate. There are 717 companies, 10251 small-scale industries and 21 large and medium industries.[12] The big industrial establishments of the district are I.T.I, Triveni Structures Ltd, General Electric Company of India, Geep Industries, Swadeshi Cotton Mill, IFFCO etc.

Society

The social structure of Allahabad is mainly agrarian though a sizable portion of its population also lives in cities. A marked difference between the life style of the two different economies could be clearly seen. I have deliberately omitted the urban social structure of Allahabad, as here I am primarily concerned with rural societies, though I have made some references according to the need of the investigation. The village life of Allahabad is traditionally feudal based mainly on caste hierarchy, division and immobility.

The principal communities that live in Allahabad are enumerated as following.

11. Ibid, p 11- 13.
12. Uttar-Pradesh at a Glance 1998, Jagaran Prakashan Kanpur: p 158.

Hindu

The Hindu community, as elsewhere is based on the system of four varna. These four varnas are Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisha and Shudra. Each varna is again divided into number of subcastes. There are other castes like Kayastas and Khatri who have the status of independent castes.[13]

The Brahmins hold the fore most position both in terms of number and power. The maximum number of Brahmins belongs to Sarjupari clan. Apart from Sarjuparin there are Kankubja, Chapan Pandey, and Bhumiars who also claim Brahmin by descent. Kshatriya also occupy an important place in the district. Most of them are connected to important Rajaput clans like, Baghel, Bishen, Chauhan, Shomvanshi, Ghadwal, Rathores, Sengars, Tomar, Chandel etc. Vaishays are the other important caste of the region, who are mainly traders and are involve in commercial activities. The main subcastes are Keserwani, Agarwal, Rastogi, Maheswari, Agarhari etc. Kayasta are mainly of Srivastava subcaste, who are primarily engaged in educational activities and Government jobs. Murai sub-caste is engaged in production of vegetables and fruits. Koeri are traditional Hindu weavers who are mainly engaged in agriculture and allied activities. In schedule castes the people belonging to Chamar subcaste are maximum. They are mainly agricultural labourers and are spread in the rural areas of the district. The other backward and scheduled castes present in the district are Kewats, Khatik, Teli, Lohar, Nai, Dhobi, Darzi, Pasi, Kumhar, Kahar and Ahir.

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13. Uttar-Pradesh District Gazeteer Allahabad, Government Press, Lucknow 1986, p 45.

Muslims

Muslims of the district belong to the clan of those muslims who came from outside like Shieks, Saiyads, Pathans or Mughals. The other stream belongs to the clan of those muslims who changed their religion and adopted Islam. The Shieks belong mainly to Siddiques, Kureshi, Usmani, Faruqui, Ansari and Abbasi sub castes. They belong to Gori and Lodhi clans. The Muslims belonging to weaver caste are found in maximum numbers in all the areas of the district. The other important castes of muslims that live in the district are that of Bhistis, Qassabs, Batiyara, Darzi, Manihar, Kunjars etc.[14]

The other important communities that live in the district are that of Christians, Shiks, Buddhists, and Jains.

Site of the Survey

The survey in Allahabad was conducted in the village Andawa that lies in Phulpur thesil of Bhadurpur Bloc. It lies 15 kilometers from the main city, on the Allahabad -Varanasi highway popularly known as Grand Trunk road. The nearest railway station from the village is Jhunshi which is 5 km. away from the village. Andawa is a big village with its areas subdivided into purvas, i.e. Mojalipur in the east, Keshawpur in the north and Gadgan in the south. The village has the facilities of telephone and electricity, and most of the houses have telivision and radio for news and entertainment.

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14. Ibid, p 47.

Size of the Village and Population

The total geographical area of the village is 380.83 hectares and it has a population of 3011 persons comprising of 1582 males and 1492 females according to 1991 census.[15] The social hierarchy of castes that one comes across_the village is (1) Brahmin, who form a very small part of the population. (2) Kurmis or Sigraur, they are the dominant caste of the area and constitute the bulk of the population. (3) Yadav, they are also small in numbers and are mainly engaged in their traditional occupation. The other castes in decreasing order of importance are Bind, Pal, Prajapati, Bhartiya, and Harijans.

Occupational Distribution

The major source of livelihood in the village is agriculture. Most of the population is engaged in farming, especially, the kurmis, Brahmins, and Yadavs. Bhartiya, Bind, Prajapati and Harijans are mostly landless labourers who work on the fields or in the city as workers. Pal caste is mostly service class engaged in various Government departments of the district.

Irrigation and Land Utilisation

Tube wells and ponds form the main source of irrigation in the area. There are 26 ponds in village Andawa. Mainly wheat and paddy are sown in the area. Sugarcane, Gram, Pulses are also sown but on a very limited scale. Farmers tend to concentrate mainly on cereal crops. In village Andawa 100% land is cultivated and there is no wasteland or Usar in the area.

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15. National Information Center, Allahabad.

Azamgarh

The district of Azamgarh is named after its headquarter town, Azamgarh, which was founded in 1665 by Azam, son of Vikramajit, Vikramajit a descendent of Gautama Rajputs of Mehnagar in pargana Nizamabad, like some of his predecessors had embraced the faith of Islam. He had a Muhammadan wife who bore him two sons Azam and Azamat. While Azam gave his name to the town of Azamgarh, and the fort, Azamat constructed the fort and settled the Bazar of Azamatgarh in Pargana Sagri.[16]

Location and Boundary

The district of Azamgarh comprises a some what irregularly shaped tract of the country lying south of Ghaghara river, between the parallels of 25° 38' and 26° 27' North latitude and the meridians of 82° 40' and 83° 52' East longitude.[17] It is bounded in the east by Mau, on the south- east by Gazipur on the south-west by Jaunpur on the west for a short distance by Sultanpur, on the north-west by Faizabad, on the north by Gorkahpur and on the north-east by Deoria district.[18] The river Ghaghara separates the district from Gorakhpur and Deoria, while the boundary with the other districts are purely artificial. The area of Azamgarh was estimated to be 4234 sq. km. in 1991.[19]

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16. Uttar-Pradesh District Gazeteer Azamgarh, Published by Government of Uttar-Pradesh (Department of district Gazeteers, Uttar-Pradesh Lucknow), 1971 p 1.
17. Ibid, p 1.
18. Ibid, p 2.
19. Ibid, p 1.

Economy

The economy of the district is primarily and dominantly agrarian. Agriculture and its allied activities provide means of livelihood to the majority of the people. The total cultivated land in the district is around 423985 hectares as measured in the year 1994-95.[20] Mainly two crops Wheat and Rice are grown in the area as is evident from the table 5.2.

Table 5.2

(Production of major crop in Azamgarh)

Year 1990-91.

Crops	Area in Hectares	Production in Metric Tonnes	Average Yield Metric Tonnes
Rice	193201	353018	18.27
Bajara	683	906	13.27
Maize	9191	10521	11.45
Wheat	204468	459399	22.47
Total pulses	33785	28113	8.31

Source: Statistical Abstract of Uttar-Pradesh 1996. Economic and statistical division state planning Institute Uttar-Pradesh Lucknow. p 284-323

The total irrigated land in the district is 322667 hectares, which is 64.9% of the total sown area.[21] Nearly 89.3%. villages of the district are electrified.[22] Most of the population of the district lives in the villages i.e. 2928166 Lakhs and only 225719 Lakhs live in city.[23] The strength of the urban population itself represents the weak and underdeveloped

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20. Statistical Abstract of Uttar-Pradesh 1996, Economics and statistical Division State planning Institute Uttar-Pradesh, Lucknow. p 262.
21. Ibid, p 364.
22. Ibid, p 463.
23. Ibid, p 11-13.

nature of Azamgarh city. The industrial base in the district is very weak resulting in low income to the district. Industrially, the district has been one of the most backward districts of the state. Azamgarh hardly possess any mineral of importance. The district is also under-developed in terms of educational facilities and students generally migrate to Varanasi or Allahabad for higher education.

SOCIETY

The 90% of the population of Azamgarh live in villages. The society here still has the imprint of the old feudal values though these are fast changing. Though after the Green revolution the emergence of middle class has given a blow to the old feudal structures. Modernisation and education have introduced new trends in the social life of Azamgarh. The impact of these forces has greatly affected the rigid social structure of the district.

The principal communities that live in the district are that of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians. In our investigation we leave out other communities except for Hindus as they have little or no impact on my area of research. The land holdings belong mostly to the Hindu community and it is this community, which basically decides the nature of the society. The Muslims of the district are primarily engaged in weaving and other allied activities. The Christians are involved mainly in missionary works and education. The Shiks are engaged in business. Except for Hindus, all other communities form a very small portion of the population, so they have little impact on the over all social structure of Azamgarh. Therefore, I have consciously left these communities from area of my research.

Hindu

As far as Hindus are concerned they were originally divided into four branches viz. Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. The ancient division was mainly occupational but gradually it developed into a hereditary order. At present in the modern society due to impact of progressive social and economic forces, the old caste structure is crumbling though slowly. It has already lost much of its rigidity though mostly in urban areas. Among the Brahmans, the most numerous are Sarwarias or Sarjuparins, both names having a territorial origin and meaning, Brahmanas of the Sarwar or Sarjupar, that is the country beyond the Saryu and Ghaghara rivers.

Rajputs who claim to be Kshatriya take the foremost place, both as regards to their aggregate numbers and their social positions. They belong to great variety of clans Bais, Bisens, Sombansis, Chandels, Nikumbhs, Dikhits, Chauhans, Rathores, Raghubansis, Sikarwars, Raikwars, Panwars, Parihars, Soiris, Bhuinhars etc. Among other Hindu caste which call for mention are Kahars, Banias, Kurmis , Lohars, Telis, Kewats, Pasis, Kumahars, Kayasths, Dhobis, Nais, and Mallahas. The Kahars are engaged in personal service, general labour, and to some extent in cultivation are found in all the thesils. The Banias are kandus, a caste that seems to have affinity with Bhar-bhunjas they often parch grains and also practice many occupations in connection with the preparation and selling off minor articles of goods. Banias are numerous in Sagri but are found in all the thesils. The Agarwal, Barnawal, Kasaudhan Banias, are next to the kandus, kurmis, are

numerous in sagri and a subdivision of this tribe are the Mat kurmis who claim descent from Mayur Bhatt. Among other castes there are Barais , Barhais, Gadariyas, Sonars and khatiks, next to them come Atits, Baris, Dharkars, Halwais, Kankars and Bhats.

Site of the Survey

The survey in Azamgarh was conducted in the village Jura-Rampur that lies 30 Km. from the main city. The village is three kilometers from the main road and is connected to it through Khadanja approach way. The village Jura-Rampur lies in Sagri thesil of Maharajgang Bloc. The village as its name represents has two purvas-Jura and Rampur. The village has the facility of electricity and a post office also exists in the village. Most of the people here also possess television and radio for news and entertainment.

Size of the Village and Population

The total geographical area of the village is 74 hectares, and it has a population of 986 persons comprising of 500 males and 486 females, according to 1991 census.[24] The social hierarchy of caste that one come across the village are (1) Thakurs – they form the bulk of the population. The other castes present in village in decreasing order of importance are Yadav, Kahar, Bhar, Kumhar, and Harijans. The Thakurs are the dominant caste in the area both economically and numerically.

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24. National Information centre, Azamgarh.

Occupational Distribution

The major source of livelihood in the village is agriculture. Most of the population is engaged in farming, especially Thakurs, Yadavs and Maurayas. Maximum numbers of people belonging to Harijan, Kahar, Pal and Bhar castes are landless labourers. There are also few people representing a cross section of the population, who are in Government services but their number is quite small.

Irrigation and Land Utilisation

The main source of irrigation in the village is Tube-well. Wheat and Paddy are the main crops of the area. The other important crops grown in the area are Sugarcane, Gram, pulses etc. The Maurya's of the area grow vegetables. They are marginal farmers who earn their livelihood by selling their vegetables and fruits. The total area of the village is cultivated and there is no Usar or wasteland. A small percentage of land is also used to grow Mango and other fruit trees.

SURVEY

Introduction

A survey was conducted in second week of February 2001. As stated earlier, the purpose of the survey was to understand how different castes and classes of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh have responded to social and economic changes over the last five decades. A questionnaire was designed for this purpose, which was administered by three

investigators who were local resident tertiary students. In the course of my fieldwork, I had come to know them intimately, and decided to seek their aid because they were familiar with the local culture and dialect and were reasonably well known in the area. In India people are generally suspicious of surveys, which they take to be sponsored by the government, they first calculate what benefits or harm will come to them from the information they provide, and then respond accordingly. The local investigators, I felt, was in a position to win the confidence of the respondent more easily; allay their fears and misconception and eventually get more reliable information than would have been possible for an outsider.

I spent considerable time with the investigators, explaining the importance of the survey and impressed upon them to be patient until respondents were clear about the purpose of the inquiry and the relevance of the particular questions. I was present during the survey and took every caution so that the true import of the questions was explained to the households. I was reasonably satisfied that the local investigators had grasped the import of the survey and could explain the relevance of the questions to the respondents.

In presenting the results of the survey, I have ignored the sequential order of the questionnaire, and have instead grouped the responses under two broad categories. The first section deals with questions concerned mainly with social issues, and second primarily with the economic ones.

Social Issues

Caste Categorisation

For the purpose of this study castes are ranked ordinarily on the basis of ritual status. The caste ranking has to be treated as broad and approximate. Any attempt to rank castes on the ritual basis is very difficult. To rank all castes as lower or higher to all other castes is impossible. Simply because such ranking do not exit in reality. Most castes, with the exception of Brahmins and Harijans perhaps, do not have a well-defined status with reference to all other castes.

Anthropologists and ethnographers have found it difficult to rank castes exactly at regional or even local levels unless their studies were specifically addressed to determining rankings. In a given locality, theoretically at least, each caste is supposed to have a status higher or lower to all other castes. But in practise, it is not always clear or well recognised even at a village level. In many village studies anthropologists have attempted only broad and approximate status ranking with four or five divisions, combining different castes in single status categories. In this study the respondent were asked to state their castes or biradari. Since the investigator was a local person there was very little possibility of people misrepresenting their castes or biradari identity. On the basis of information provided in the caste column, the respondents of the two villages were classified into four categories. (1) The upper castes, which included Thakurs and Brahmins. (2) Middle

castes, which included Yadav and Kurmis. (3) Low castes which included Bari, Maurya, Bhar, Kumhar and Kahar and (4) Harijan, which had Bhartiya, Chamar, Pasi and Katik under its domain.

Caste Consciousness

To probe the attitude of the different sections of the society towards the consciousness of caste, the respondents were asked to list their opinion on grounds of voting. Five alternatives were provided (1) caste, (2) pressure, (3) clean image, (4) work, (5) others- which included miscellaneous reasons i.e. tactical voting, personal relations etc. The next question that was asked, whether they supported caste marriages or not? The responses to these questions have been listed in the following tables.

Table 5.3

Voting Criteria of Village, Andawa.

Caste	Pressure	Clean Image	Work	Caste	Others
Brahmin	-	13	10	65	12
Kurmi	-	5	15	70	10
Yadav	-	-	20	70	10
Prajapati	11	11	8	65	5
Pal	-	12	10	70	8
Bind	10	10	5	65	10
Bhartiya	25	5	10	60	-
Harijan	30	5	8	55	2

Table 5.4

Support to inter-caste marriage Village, Andawa.

Caste	Yes	No	No Comments
Brahmin	5	85	10
Kurmi	-	80	20
Yadav	-	80	20
Prajapati	-	90	10
Pal	-	90	10
Bind	-	70	30
Bhartiya	-	85	15
Harijan	-	60	40

Table 5.5

Voting Criteria of Village, Jura-Rampur.

Caste	Pressure	Clean Image	Work	Caste	Others
Thakur	-	5	10	80	5
Yadav	-	-		80	20
Maurya	30	-	10	50	10
Bhar	75	-		25	-
Bari	80	-		20	-
Pal	30	-	5	60	5
Kahar	70	-	5	20	5
Harijan	25	-	15	50	10

Table 5.6

Support to intercaste marriage Village, Jura-Rampur.

CASTE	Yes	No	No Comments
Thakur	-	90	10
Yadav	-	80	20
Maurya	-	80	20
Bhar	-	60	40
Bari	-	60	40
Pal	-	70	30
Kahar	-	70	30
Harijan	-	70	40

From the tables on caste consciousness it was clear that most of the people still believed in caste restrictions. In free democratic India the effects of modernisation, egalitarian values may have some effect in the urban centres but as far as rural India was concerned the scene did not look that promising. Most of the people when asked to vote had opted for caste lines.

As to the question of inter-caste marriages most of the caste preferred to go along their caste affiliations. One thing I noticed during the course my survey that most of the people were unwilling to talk freely about inter-caste marriages. In Andawa only one Brahmin family was willing to talk about inter caste marriages. In fact, which I found out later, that one girl from the family had already married outside the caste. Otherwise all the sections of the society were very particular about caste marriages. It seemed that the effect of modernisation,

education had not percolated to the villages and the villages of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh were still embedded in the ascriptive values of the past.

During the course of the Discussion, I came across some interesting facts. Though I had not included these questions in my questionnaire, I still found it worth mentioning. The people in the village were more open at personal level to caste. As far as their work was concerned, they would not hesitate to invite the outcaste to get the job done. Though in marriages and other public functions a distance was maintained from the unclean castes, but actually this process was also under strain. As the dominant caste know that to succeed in democracy especially during elections they will have to take the support of these castes. As the lower castes were becoming more assertive, the upper castes were compelled due to strategic reasons to allow these people more rights and privileges.

EDUCATION

The survey categories

Respondents were asked to state the level to which they have received formal education. On the basis of the information provided, they were grouped into four categories, (1) Those who received no formal education. (2) Those who studied up to primary level. (3) Those who studied up to secondary level. (4) Those who have tertiary education. While some people explicitly said that they had received no formal education, there were others who said that they were educated at home. There were number of people who gave no response. All the persons who did not admit directly to having primary, secondary or tertiary education have been treated as having received no formal

education. Such persons are not functionally illiterate. Those people who have studied till class 8th have been put under primary education. Those who have passed high school or Inter-mediate have been put under secondary education. Those with university degrees or those who have obtained diploma in accountancy or management from a university have been treated as tertiary qualified.

Table 5.7

Education in Village, Andawa.

Caste	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Illieterate
Brahmin	23	20	36	21
Kurmi	5	60	33	2
Yadav	20	33		47
Prajapati	33	44		23
Pal	30	30	4	36
Bind	5	5		90
Bhartiya				100
Harijan	5	5		90

Table 5.8

Education in Village, Jura-Rampur.

Caste	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Illieterate
Thakur	15	20	40	25
Yadav	10	15	5	70
Maurya	33		33	34
Bhar	10			90
Bari	35	50		15
Pal	20	40		40
Kahar	70			30
Harijan	25		33	42

If we analyse both the tables on education we find that the upper castes i.e. Thakurs and Brahmins were better placed in education. In the middle caste the Kurmis were also catching up and were almost equal in educational qualification. In Andawa it was clear that only small percentage of the population carried higher education. Only the Brahmins and the Kurmis represented substantial number in tertiary education. In the village Jura-Rampur, the Harijans and Maurayas have taken to tertiary education along with Thakurs. Harijans and Mauryas who were basically landless workers, the progress in education really seemed impressive. In the survey it was noted that most of the people from the Harijan castes in village Jura-Rampur were in jobs and it seemed that some benefits of reservation and modernisation had percolated to them. What could be clearly seen from the table is that the upper caste and the middle castes were still way ahead of the low castes and the Harijans. Though some changes could be seen in the pattern, still the low castes and Harijans had not been able to take advantage of the new avenues and opportunities and were still exploited by the middle and the upper castes. Though this exploitation was not as severe as the old one. One interesting fact that came out during the course of the survey was that the Pal caste in Andawa though not highly educated, had the maximum number of people in jobs. Though this was not same in Jura-Rampur. It may be the fact that Allahabad, a big urban centre may have provided them with better opportunities than Azamgarh, which was an under- developed city.

Caste and Politics

Caste in politics plays a very significant role in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. To understand this phenomenon the respondents were asked two sets of questions. First question was related to how much interest they have in politics, to this question three options were given (1)

Interested. (2) More interested and (3) No Interest. In second set of questions the responderts were asked to name the political party they would prefer to vote. On the basis of their responses following tables were constructed.

Table 5.9

Interest in politicsVillage, Andawa.

Caste	Interested	More Interested	No Interest
Brahmin	15	80	5
Kurmi	15	80	5
Yadav	10	80	10
Prajapati	60	10	30
Pal	15	70	15
Bind	45	10	45
Bhartiya	45	5	50
Harijan	25	60	15

Table 5.10

Interest in politics Village, Jura-Rampur

Caste	Interested	More Interested	No Interest
Thakur	15	80	5
Yadav	20	70	10
Maurya	40	10	50
Bhar	40	15	45
Bari	15	15	70
Pal	25	20	55
Kahar	20		80
Harijan	15	70	15

Table 5.11

Support to political partv Village, Andawa.

Caste	S.P.	B.J.P.	B.S.P.	Congress
Brahmin	10	70	5	15
Kurmi	80	10	5	5
Yadav	90			10
Prajapati	70		10	20
Pal	80	10	5	5
Bind	80	10	10	
Bhartiya		15	80	5
Harijan		15	80	5

Table 5.12

Support to political party Village, Jura-Rampur.

Caste	S.P.	B.J.P.	B.S.P.	Congress
Thakur		90		10
Yadav	80	10		10
Maurya	10	80		10
Bhar	5	80	10	5
Bari	10	80	5	5
Pal	15	40	35	10
Kahar	15	20	35	30
Harijan		5	90	5

From tables on politics it is clear that Brahmin in the upper caste and Kurmi, Yadav, from the middle castes and Pal from the lower castes were highly politicised. Over 80% of their population were more interested in politics. Prajapati, Bind and Bhartiya castes though interested in politics were not very enthusiastic about it. In village Jura-Rampur the Thakurs from the upper castes, the Yadvas from the middle caste and Harijans from the low castes were highly politicised. Over 70% of their population were interested in politics. Maurya, Bhar, Bari, Pal and Kahar were either less interested or had no ~~any~~ interest in politics. One noticeable fact that came out during the survey was that the low caste if they were less in number, tended to go with the dominant caste of the area. Most of these people were dependent on the higher castes for their economic well being, so they preferred to go along with them. Caste as a factor could be clearly discerned and during the course of my interview lot of people tended to rank their castes above the actual ritual ranking. In one such interview the Grampradhan of village Andawa who belonged to Kurmi caste had following things to tell me.

"As a Grampradhan I am reasonably satisfied with the support of my castes. We do not allow other castes to win from our area. The other castes are hell-bent to destroy our supremacy; they have even implicated me in false corruption cases. I have two or three corruption cases pending against me, all plotted by other castes. Our caste is supreme in the region both economically and politically."[25]

As is evident from the interview, the Grampradhan is trying to portray the superiority of his caste over other castes. The impact of caste

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25. The name of the Grampradhan has been ommitted on request.

and animosity towards other castes could be clearly seen in his statement. The statement also represents the fact that Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is one of the most potential region for caste riots and caste tensions.

As to which political parties do they want to vote? Maximum number of the respondents gave answers on expected lines. If they were from the upper caste they would align either with B.J.P. or the Congress. If they were from the backward castes, they would align with S.P. and if they were from the Scheduled Caste they would go with the B.S.P. As the tables on voting of political parties represent, 70% of Brahmins in village Andawa voted for B.J.P., 90% of Yadavs and 80% of Kurmis for S.P., 80% of Harijans for the B.S.P. Similarly in village Jura Rampur 90% of Thakurs voted for B.J.P., 80% of Yadavs for S.P. and 90% of Harijans for the B.S.P. Maurya, Bhar, and Bari in the village tended to vote for the B.J.P. due to pressure, and also for economic security as they were small in numbers and dependent for their well being on their employer who were mostly Thakurs of the region. The voting pattern of these castes i.e. Maurya, Bhar, Bari, and Kumhar also points to the fact there was lack of leadership among these castes.

Economic Condition

The aim of the survey was not only to get some idea of the present economic conditions of the castes in rural areas, but also to try and understand by what this had been affected or how this had been changed over the last four or five decades. In order to do this wide

ranging questions were asked which were related to family business or occupation, changes in standard of living, Exposure to mass media and communication and income from the main and subsidiary occupations.

Family Business/ Occupation

The first question related to the occupation of the head of the household. The respondents were asked to tell about their main occupation; on the basis of data received the respondents were divided into five categories based on their occupation. The categories were, (1) Agriculture and other unskilled labour. (2) Farm tenants, Semi skilled workers, Washerman, Barber, Shoemaker etc. (3) Small independent occupation, Small farm owners, Small retailers. (4) Skilled occupation, Policemen, Drivers, Mechanics, Army Jawans. (5) Big landholders, Top-level professionals, Managerial occupation, Big businessmen.

In village Andawa (as is evident from the table 5.13), it was found that in upper caste 30% were either big landholders or top-level professionals. 60% were small farm-owners, 10% belonged to the category of big landholders, 50% belonged to small farm owners and 10% to skilled occupations. 70% of Yadavs, 60% of Prajapati, belonged to the class of small farm owners. Bind and Bhartiya seemed to be economically most backward castes, as 70% and 80% of them respectively belonged to agricultural and other unskilled labour class. In Harijans 50% belonged to the Agricultural labour class and 40% belonged to Farm tenants and semiskilled workers category. In the low castes Pal's have shown a great deal of improvement and more than 80% of them belong to service class i.e. the skilled occupational class.

Table 5.13

Occupational categories caste wise Village, Andawa.

Categories	Brahmin	Kurmi	Yadav	Prajapati	Pal	Bind	Bhartiya	Harijan
Agricultural and other unskilled labour				20	10	70	80	50
Farm Tenant, Semi skilled worker, Washermen, Barber, Shoemaker, Potters, Construction workers			5	20		10	15	40
Small independent occupation, Small farm owners, Small retailers	60	50	70	60	10		5	10
Skilled occupations Policemen, Drivers, Mechanics, Army Jawans etc	10	10	10		80	20		
Big Landholders, Top level Professional and Managerial occupation, Big businessmen etc	30	40	15					

Table 5.14

Occupational categories caste wise Village, Jura-Rampur.

Categories	Thakur	Yadav	Maurya	Bhar	Bari	Pal	kahar	Harijan
Agricultural and other unskilled labour		5	10	90	30	80	20	10
Farm Tenant, Semi skilled worker, Washermen, Barber, Shoemaker, Potters, Construction workers		10	20	10	50	10	70	80
Small independent occupation, Small farm owners, Small retailers	60	80	70		20		10	10
Skilled occupations Policemen, Drivers, Mechanics, Army Jawans etc	5	5				10		
Big Landholders, Top level Professional and Managerial occupation, Big businessmen etc	35							

In village Jura-Rampur the upper castes i.e. Thakurs, as we see from the table 5.14, were the dominant force as 35% of them belonged to the class of big land holders or top level professionals, 60% of them belonged to the class of small independent occupations i.e. small farm owners. In Yadavs 80% of them belonged to the class of small farm

owners, where as in Maruya's 70% of them belonged to this class or category. Maximum number of Bhar and Pal belonged to the category of agricultural and other unskilled labour. Whereas in Harijans 80% and in Kahars 70% of them belonged to the category of semiskilled workers and farm tenants see table. It could be seen from the table that 10% of the Pal whose traditional occupation was sheep rearing had risen to take the category of skilled occupations i.e. Servicemen, drivers, Mechanics, Army Jawans etc. Though this mobility was mostly lateral.

Household Income

To get people to reveal their correct family income from different sources can be a difficult exercise. People in government or private service have less inhibitions about revealing their true income as compared to those engaged in business or various trades, who are generally inclined to conceal their real income in order to minimise paying income tax or sales tax or to avoid paying any tax altogether. Only when they were reasonably reassured by the local investigator that the information would not find its way to the authorities did many agree to disclose their incomes. Even so one should treat the information with some degree of scepticism. With all these qualifications, one may use the information on incomes gathered during the course of our survey as a general indicator of the social and economic status of our respondents.

The intention was to get an idea of the total monthly income of the household from all sources. Respondents were asked to declare

their income from their main as well as their subsidiary occupation, if any. Investigators were advised to be patient, but gently probe all possible sources of income of the household. In case those in the government or private employment, the investigators were to investigate whether a retired parent living in the household was drawing pension. In case of many households several incomes were recorded. Table below gives the total monthly income of all members of the household from all the sources in the two villages and these have been grouped in slabs of Rs. 1000 rupees.

Table 5.15

Income in Village, Andawa.

Income	Brahmin	Kurmi	Yadav	Prajapati	Pal	Bind	Bhartiya	Harijan
1000- 2000					5	10	10	10
2001- 3000		5	30	30	10	75	60	70
3001- 4000		5	40	30	10	10	20	15
4001- 5000			10	40	20		10	
5001- 6000	10				35			
6001- 7000	10	20	10		20			
7001- 8000	30	10						
8001- 9000	20	10				5		5
9001-10000	10	25						
10000 above	20	25	10					

Table 5.16

Income in Village, Jura-Rampur.

Income	Thakur	Yadav	Maurya	Bhar	Bari	Pal	Kahar	Harijan
1000-2000				10		5		5
2001-3000	5	20	20	90	5	20	10	10
3001-4000	5	30	80		80	70	40	70
4001-5000	15	50			5	5		10
5001-6000					10		50	5
6001-7000								
7001-8000	50							
8001-9000	20							
9001-10000								
10000 above	5							

In village Andawa the Kurmis and the Brahmins seemed to be most prosperous castes. About 90% of their population was above Rs. 5000 in monthly income. After these two castes, the Pal seemed to be doing better with more than 50% of their population was in the range of Rs. 5001 to 6000 and 6001to 7000. Yadav and Prajapati in village Andawa showed modest earning with over 60% of their population was in the range of Rs. 2001 to 3000 and 3001 to 4000. Bind, Bhartiya and Harijan seemed to have more or less same status and over 60% of their population ranged between Rs. 2000 to 3000.

In village Jura-Rampur only Thakurs were above the income of Rs. 7000 as 70% of their population earned more than Rs. 7000. The Yadav's had a modest earning and most of their population was below Rs. 5000 mark. Maurya, Bari, Pal, and Harijan seemed to have similar status, with over 70% of their population lying in the range of Rs. 3001 to Rs. 4000. Bhar were the economically most backward caste of the region with 90% of their population lying between Rs. 2001 to Rs. 3000.

Kahar in the region seemed to be doing well with 50% of their population earning between Rs. 5001 to Rs. 6000.

Exposure to Mass Media and Communication

To measure the awareness of the people, the respondent were asked to tell about their habit of listening radio, reading newspaper and watching television. In the questionnaire four options were given (1) those having no exposure, (2) those who listen either to radio, television or newspaper, (3) those who do either of the two, (4) those who are interested in all the three.

Table 5.17

Exposure to mass media and communication in Village, Andawa.

Categories	Brahmin	Kurmi	Yadav	Prajapati	Pal	Bind	Bhartiya	Harijan
No Exposure			25	45	25	60	30	50
Listen to radio, readNewspaper See Television	20	30	60	55	70	35	70	45
Two of them above	70	60	15		5	5		5
All of them	10	10						

Table 5.18

Exposure to mass media and communication in Village, Jura-Rampur.

Categories	Thakur	Yadav	Maurya	Bhar	Bari	Pal	kahar	Harijan
No Exposure	5	10	40	70	50	50	40	50
Listen to radio, readNewspaper See Television	20	70	60	30	40	40	55	40
Two of them above	70	20			10	10	5	10
All of them	5							

In village Andawa the Brahmins and the Kurmis had access to two the three listed items. 70% of the Brahmins had either television and radio or television and newspaper. Television had at recent times taken the place of Radio. 60% of the Kurmis also belonged to the same group. 60% of Yadavs, 70% of the Pals and 70% of Bhartiyas either had radio or television or newspaper. What was mostly seen, that these castes i.e. Yadavs, Kahars and Mauryas possessed radio as only medium of contact to the outside world. 50% of Harijan, 45% of Prajapati, 60% of Bind had no exposure. They neither possessed radio, or television or newspaper. These people were basically landless labourers.

In village Jura-Rampur 70% of Thakurs enjoyed access to two of the three listed items. 70% of Yadavs, 55% of Kahars and 60% of Mauryas enjoyed access to only one of these items, 70% of Bhars, 50% of Harizans, 50% of Pal and 50% of Baris had no exposure to any means of mass media of communication. It was noteworthy that 10% of Harijans, 10% of Pal, 5% of Kahars, 10% of Baris and 20% of Yadavs had access to two of the three listed items. This figure represented a gradual improvement in the conditions of these castes.

From the study of above tables such as on education, caste consciousness, politics, Income and mass media of communication a pattern seemed to emerge which was analysed in the next chapter, which discusses the import of these data on the social structures of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. These data also provides us an insight into the changes that had taken place in the economic and social field during the last five decades.

Chapter - 6

Summary and Conclusion

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter we will discuss the results of the survey, its impact on my assumptions and how far these results have been able to throw new lights on the emerging pattern of socio-economic developments.

If we analyse the tables on caste consciousness in the previous chapter, we find the maximum number of respondents have shown strong affiliation to caste lines. Whether it is politics or social life, caste dominates everywhere. The modern democratic forces seem to have little or no impact in rural Uttar-Pradesh. The politics of numbers have reinforced the importance of caste and modern education has infact deepened the consciousness of caste. Today, the caste groups are more assertive and volatile while asserting their identity. This has often resulted in caste tensions and violence. It is clear from the survey that democratic polity based on equality and egalitarian values has not succeeded in diminishing the importance of caste in Indian society. The conscious policy of Britishers to divide India by providing reservations to various minority groups have continued even after the independence. This process has mitigated the impact of modern democratic values on Indian social system and caste in its old and new Avatar continues. In the survey we find that the upper, the middle and even the lower castes in the two villages vote on the caste equations they have nothing to do with the clean image and the work of the leaders. These tendencies in voting pattern are also one of reasons for increase in corruption in the political field in India.

As far as education is concerned, traditionally it was confined to top strata, of Hindu society. Table on education shows how education

still belongs to the privileged classes. Though lower castes and backward castes are also making there presence felt. In traditional India since education was religious, it was the privilege of the Brahmins to study and interpret the sacred texts and scriptures. The trading castes and warrior castes did require some education, but it was mainly limited to acquiring the skills of trading and fighting. The opportunities for education whatever they were in pre- British India were not open to the middle and low castes. The Brahmins thus, became not only the guardian of religion, but also the interpreter of social relations, customs and local laws.

Even in British days when education was formalised and relatively secularised through the school system, it was mainly Brahmins and other high castes who took advantage of the new opportunities. While untouchables continued to be disallowed from the school, social and economic situation was such that low and middle castes found it difficult to send their children to school.

Towards the end of the British period educational facilities became enlarged and the over all developmental level of Indian society steadily increased. This created a more conducive environment for middle and low status castes for educating their children. Some members of the low castes, particularly in urban areas, began to send their children to school.

Since independence, educational facilities have increased manifold and most villages at least have primary schools within reasonable distance. Special concessions and incentives are also provided to untouchable and other backward castes to take to higher

education, postmatric scholarships are provided for scheduled castes and tribes. There is no doubt that more and more Harijans and low status castes children take to education today than they did in the past.

Even so, the relation between caste and education as can be seen from the table is considerable even today, and the disparity in education between the higher status and lower status castes is still very high. Though some middle castes and lower castes in some areas are making impressive gains. In village Andawa we find 36% of Brahmins and 33% of the Kurmis have acquired Tertiary education, whereas rest of the castes have little or no representation. In village Jura-Rampur we find 40% of the Thakurs have taken to tertiary education whereas 33% of the Mauryas and 33% of the Harijans have also acquired similar qualifications. The other backward or lower castes have little or no representation. Thus we find that few castes from scheduled castes and backward castes have moved up the ladder but the disparities still continue. One interesting fact that comes out from the survey is that the drop- outs from primary and secondary education are maximum from the backward and the lower castes. Their representation in primary and secondary education almost equals or even exceeds the higher castes in representation. This implies that weaker sections are also sending their children to schools and are taking advantage of various privileges provided to them by the government. But due to various reasons, they are unable to convert these privileges into opportunities.

In the income table we find that in both the villages upper caste and to some extent middle castes are clustered in the top of the income group. In Andawa 25% of Kurmis, 20% of Brahmins and 10% of Yadavs earn above Rs. 10,000. Whereas in Jura-Rampur only 5% of Thakurs are

above Rs. 10,000 mark. 50% of them range between the income group of Rs.7000 to 8000. All other castes are clustered along the upper half of the table, which represents low-income group. The data presented in the table show an expected pattern. A high concentration of Harijan and low castes is found in the lowest income groups. Whereas Brahmins and other high castes are to be found concentrated in the upper three categories.

Income and occupation have a close correlation. In caste system hereditary and prescribed occupation is one of its most distinguishing feature. In our data we find that there is a considerable co-relation between caste status and occupational status in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh inspite of the fact that occupational opportunity have acquired a certain degree of flexibility.

The data on occupational levels clearly and strikingly show that Harijans and low castes are highly deprived groups in the occupational stratification of Indian society even today. As compared to other castes, a high concentration of Harijans and low castes is to be found in the lowest category of occupational hierarchy, the unskilled labourers. As we move across the row for the lowest category of unskilled labourers, we find that as caste status increases, the frequency in the column of unskilled labourers decreases. If we examine the frequency in the top status occupation category consisting of the highest-level professionals and managerial occupations, we find almost a reverse pattern. The frequency in the highest status occupation increases with caste status.

In village Andawa we find that as much as 80% of the Pals have left their traditional occupation of sheep keeping and have moved up

the ladder of economic status and have joined Government services. In other castes also we find similar mobility but the percentage is not that high. There has been long standing controversy among the scholars as to whether or not there has been occupational mobility in the past and whether the system of traditional occupation was a reality. There is no doubt that some amount of occupational mobility must have always existed. Examples of upward and downward mobility could also be found in mythological India.

There is little doubt that some members in all castes could be found to change their traditional occupations. Again there are certain "catch all" category of occupation like agriculture and trade where many castes of wide distances in ritual status could be found. In course of time, certain traditional occupations became obsolete due to a number of reasons. Many new occupations have also come up as a result of industrialisation and mechanisation since the late 19th and 20th centuries, the status of whom has not been defined in the traditional scheme of caste and occupational status. Yet it is as unrealistic to say that traditional and hereditary occupational status had no basis in caste status as the belief of early observers of Indian society that it was stagnant and unchanging. If one examines the caste-occupation relationship from a simple perspective- that all members of a caste must follow the prescribed traditional occupations then one is likely to come up with the conclusion that Indian society was highly mobile.

One important fact that has discerned from the analysis of available data is the pattern of congruence between caste status and occupational status even in the change or mobility from traditional to non-traditional occupations. This pattern is often ignored by many that

have argued about the presence of a great deal of occupational mobility in India. Whether such mobility is upward, downward or lateral is important. The pattern is that in a change from traditional to non-traditional occupations lower status castes generally move to lower status occupations. Such factors as education, urbanisation, other aspects of advancement and the prevailing social conditions work against lower status castes acquiring higher status non-traditional occupations.

Socially also when a member of the low caste, particularly in rural areas, changes his traditional occupation, the changes will be tolerated if the level of the newly acquired occupation is commensurate with his low caste status. Thus, not much comment would be made if a tanner became a day labourer but there would be considerable influence from his traditional occupation if he went into government service.[1] Such a correspondence between caste status and occupational status was probably of a much higher order in the past than it is today.

As in education, Income and occupation, the table in mass media and communication also represents the similar pattern. The Brahmins and Kurmis in village Andawa are more exposed and more informed than other castes. Similarly the Thakurs of Jura-Rampur show more awareness than other castes. It is interesting to note that 50% of Harizans, 60% of Bind, 45% of Prajapati in village Andawa do not have any exposure. Simlarly in Jura-Rampur 50% of Bari, 40% of Maurya, and 50% of Harijan do not have any exposure. In this era of satellite television, cable network and computers, it is really surprising that still

1. Mayer, Adrian C., Caste and Kinship in Central India. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. p 89.

a sizeable portion of our population do not have any means of communication. This reinforces my analysis of chapter four, which states that Eastern Uttar-Pradesh is economically one of the most backward regions of the area. It is this backwardness, which has kept alive the ascriptive and traditional values of the past.

As far as politics is concerned it is politically one of the most volatile regions of the area. The politics as is evident from the above analysis is not based on democratic values but on ascriptive and divisive values. Caste dominates in politics and only those parties are able to survive which ruthlessly exploit caste sentiments. The marginalisation of congress, especially after Mandal commission report is an explicit example how caste politics and caste parties have taken the center stage. The survey on political orientation clearly represents that the people tend to go along their respective caste parties. As far as interest in politics is concerned, which also means their respective strength to influence the politics of the region. We find that in village Andawa, Kurmi, Brahmin and Yadav castes show more interest or reasonable influence over their caste members. These castes are highly politicised and take active part in elections. The Kurmis are dominant caste of the region and many low castes vote according to their wishes. Thus economically weaker, especially from the lower caste have shown the tendency to accept the dictates of the dominant caste i.e. Kurmis of the region. Similarly the lower castes in village Jura-Rampur have shown the tendency to go along the dominant caste i.e. Thakurs of the region. It is interesting to note here that high caste though relatively weaker and less in number than the dominant caste in Andawa, have acted independently, defying the Kurmis of the region openly. This also

points to the age long superiority that these castes enjoyed and are not ready to shelve their privileges even in the changed socio-economic scenario.

The constitution of India gave universal adult franchise and this gave every Indian a right to vote and citizen status. This has meant much to the middle, lower middle and very low castes. With adult franchise, what became more important for political power was the numerical strength of a caste groups not its ritual status. And in most regions of India it is the middle and lower castes, which are more numerous. One of the results of adult franchise, which could be clearly seen in the survey, has been the shift of the locus of power from ritually higher castes to numerically stronger castes. And since in most regions of India, the numerically stronger castes are the middle and the lower middle castes, they have become politically dominant. In Azamgarh and also in Allahabad constituencies if the backward and lower castes are united during the elections, then they usually win the seats.

According to Pradhan H. Prasad, "the implementation of Mandal commission, the policy of reservation of jobs and promotions, opportunities in government services in favour of middle castes only asserts the socio-political reality of the dominant position of these castes."[2]

The process of competitive politics motivates the leaders of the higher castes to join hand with lower castes and for highly caste oriented political groups to open their doors for other caste leaders

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2. Prasad, H. Pradhan, Caste and Class in Bihar. Economic and Political Weekly (Annual Issue), Feb 1979, p 482.

inspite of the wide gaps of ritual status. Such a process makes a significant contribution to blurring caste distinctions. While such matters as marriage or religious rites may remain caste oriented the people who are obliged to join hand with higher or lower caste in the political arena cannot afford to remain caste oriented in many areas of inter personal relationship including food transactions, the most rigid and pervasive criterion of pollution and one of the most important determinants of caste status.

So long as acquiring high caste status was necessary for social mobility, the most frequently employed means of achieving higher status was sanskritisation,[3] but the changing aspirations and demands of caste associations clearly show the shift from sanskritisation to politicisation and modernisation for raising the position of the caste groups. This is not say that the lower castes do not emulate or change their life style. Emulation goes on at individual and group levels at all times in all societies. The important change in that the model of emulation is no longer provided by the Brahmins or any other high castes, and the purpose is not to raise the ritual status. The content of such emulation is not Sanskritic–not traditional customs and rituals–but urban and modern characteristics and the models of emulation are urban or modern groups in general.

On the basis of the survey and discussion of the results, I am tempted to draw a broad outline of empirical socio-economic and political profile of Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. I know such generalisations are fraught with grave dangers, when database is not exhaustive. I have tried to fill these gaps by supplementing my data with secondary

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3. This much discussed and disputed concept was put forward by M.N. Srinivas in his study, Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India (Oxford: Oxford University, 1952).

sources. I have taken all care in constructing this table of empirical social stratification, but still changes cannot be ruled out. I have constructed this table 6.1 to show following features.

(a) The striking feature of this empirical model is that several lines that have been drawn to connect the positions of the various caste groups from one dimension to another cross each other. Even the broader and more solid boundaries of high, middle, and low are penetrated. In the ideal model of status-summation, the line connecting the movement of a caste group from one position to another should never cross those of other castes, at least, not the broader boundaries of high, middle and low.

(b) As a direct corollary of the first, one's position in caste hierarchies does not sum up or subsume his position in socio-economic and, much, less in political spheres. One may not necessarily know the socio-economic and political position of caste group by knowing its position in the caste hierarchy.

(c) We find that the socio economic and political dimensions are less stratified than the ascriptive dimension.

(d) As a direct corollary of the third, there is a greater clustering of caste groups and more importantly, of widely different status, in socio-economic sphere and, still greater in political sphere. We find such widely different status castes as the Brahmins and the low castes and other high castes and the Harijans as equals.

Thus, the empirical socio-economic and political profile of caste in modern India is not only of relative "mobility" and relative "status incongruence" but also of relative "equality."

Fig. 6.1 An Empirical profile of social stratification in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh.

Conclusion

The detailed findings of this study have been noted and discussed at appropriate places may be briefly recapitulated here.

I set out in this study to draw an empirical profile of social stratification in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh. The main objective was to find out the extent to which the traditional model of social stratification obtains in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh.

Social stratification in Eastern Uttar-Pradesh today cannot be characterised as homogeneous, combinative and non-competitive. There is increasing status incongruence, relative openness, mobility and relative equality. The socio-economic and political dimensions of social stratification are becoming increasingly differentiated from the ascriptive caste dimensions, suggesting that one cannot describe or understand social stratification in India within the framework of the classical caste model of stratification.

There is little doubt that some members in all castes could be found to change their traditional occupations. One fact that has emerged from the available data is the pattern of congruence between caste status and occupational status in the change or mobility from traditional to non-traditional occupations. Such a correspondence between caste status and occupational status was probably of a much higher order in the past than today.

The constitution of India gave universal adult franchise and this gave every Indian a right to vote and citizen status. This has meant much to the middle, lower middle and very low castes. With adult

franchise, what became more important for political power was the numerical strength of the caste group, not its ritual status. Thus the locus of power has shifted from ritually higher castes to numerically higher castes. Higher castes, high class and higher political participation may have been a fact in traditional India but today it is fastly fading away.

In my Research proposal, I have no intention of getting into general definitional debate with comparative and general theorists of social stratification who want to label a closed and hierarchical social structure as a "caste model". It is the argument of this study that Eastern Uttar-Pradesh no longer exemplifies the traditional caste model. Today this model represents increasing status incongruence, relative openness, mobility and relative equality among the competing strata.

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